

Thomas Marchbanks

Les Conversations amitie

A. For my part, I confess
that I never had any great
relish for either Latin or
Greek, but this is cer-
tainly a very interesting
book, - it gives us a
just view of the man-
ners of the Ancient con-
querors of Troy, & shews
us, the gradual rise of
Arts & Sciences, so that
although I never read
or could read either of the
Dead languages yet I
think this book ~~is~~
~~the~~ ~~literature~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~

has given me a little
insight into their Ideas
of things so much so
indeed that I think
I am equal to most
young men with
regard to the knowledge
which they have of the
Ancients

^{You are evidently a}
~~pretended~~ blockhead
^{who ought to have been in the}
^{nursery yet}
W. What ~~you say~~ of the
book is very true but
I think you are greatly
mistaken with regard
to your ^sassumed know-
ledge of the Ancients—

you say you never could
read either live or
turn to last page of the book

Ed. 1801. C. 10. 10. 10.
Archæologia Græcæ:

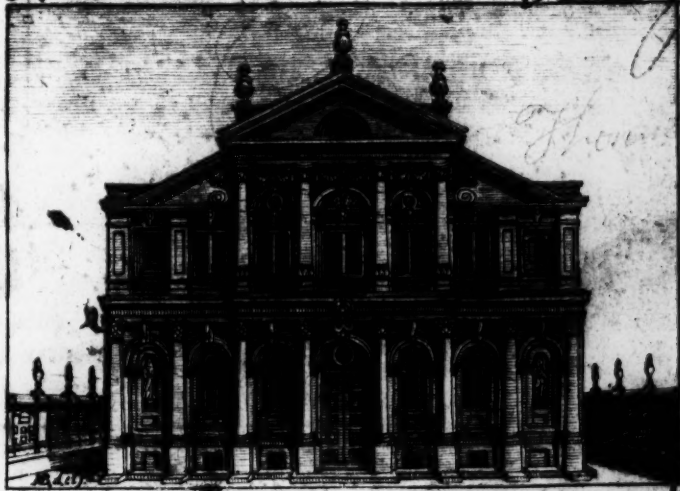
OR, THE

A. J. 5
ANTIQUITIES

A. A. 11. 7. 7
GREECE.

A. A. 11. 9. 8

By JOHN POTTER, M. A. and Fellow
of Lincoln College, OXON. *there is
use for*



OXFORD,

Printed at the THEATER, for Timothy Child at the White-
hart, and John Jones at the Dolphin and Crown, in St.
Paul's Church-yard, LONDON. A. D. MDCXCII.



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Archæologia Græcæ:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
I. A. M. A. R. OF H. A. A. M. T. R.
GREECE.

VOLUME THE SECOND:

CONTAINING

I. The Military Affairs of the GRECIANS:

II. Some of their Miscellany Customs.

—— *Simili frondescit virga metallo.* Virgil.

Quis reprehendet nostrum otium, qui in eo non modo nosmetipsos hebescere & languere nolumus, sed etiam, ut plurimis prosumus, enitimur? Cicero.

O X F O R D,

Printed at the THEATER, for *Timothy Child* at the *Whitebart*, and *John Jones* at the *Dolphin and Crown*, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, LONDON. A. D. MDCXCIX.

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The 12 Chapter is remarkably
interesting - I would advise you
to read it -

Archæologie

Archæologiæ Græcæ:
 OR, THE
 ANTIQUITIES
 OF
 G R E E C E.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

*Of the Wars, Valour, Military Glory, &c. of the
 Ancient Grecians.*

THE ancient *Grecians* were an innocent and unpolish'd sort of Mortals, wholly unacquainted with the modern, and more refin'd Arts of War and Peace. Persons of the highest Birth and Quality, and whom they phan-sy'd to be descended from the Race of the Immortal Gods, had little other business to employ their Hours, beside tilling the Earth, or feeding their Flocks and Herds; and the rapine of these, or some other petty Concerns, which was look'd on as a generous and heroical Exploit, occasion'd most of the Wars so famous in their Story. *Achilles* in *Homer* tells *Agamemnon*, that 'twas purely to oblige him, he had engag'd himself in so long and dangerous a War against the *Trojans*, from whom he had never receiv'd any just cause of Quarrel, having never been

despoil'd of his Oxen, or Horses, or had the Fruits of his Ground
destroy'd by them (a):

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἐνεκ' ἡλυθὼν αἰχμητῶν
Διόεσ' μαχρὸν μῦθος, ἔπει ἔπ' μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν·
Οὐ γὰρ παπὶς' ἐμαῖς βῆς ἤλασαν, ἐδὲ μὲν ἵππους,
Οὐδὲ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ εἰσιβόλασι βωτιανείῃ
Καρπὸν ἐδηλώσαντ', ἐπειὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
Οὐρεὰ τε σκιάοντα, θάλασσά τε ἡγήεσσι·
Ἀλλὰ σοι, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς, ἄμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὅρξα σὺ χεῖρῃς.

For tho' I here 'gainst warlike Trojans fight,
'Tis not to vindicate my injur'd Right;
Since they by impious Theft have ne'er detain'd
My Oxen, Horses, or on Phia's Land
Destroy'd my Fruits; for me, the craggy Way
O'er pathless Mountains, and the boist'rous Sea
Secure from what Invasion they wou'd make:
But 'tis, ungrateful Man, 'tis for thy sake,
T' advance thy Triumphs that I hither come,
That thou with greater State may'st lord it home.

Mr. Huchin.

And the simplicity of their Conduct may be sufficiently evin-
c'd, as from several other Instances, so by those especially, where an
Achilles, an *Hector*, or an *Ajax* are introduc'd opposing them-
selves to vast Numbers, and by the force of their own Valour put-
ting to flight whole Squadrons of their Enemies. Nor is the
Poet to be thought blame-worthy, or to have transgress'd the
rules of probability in such Relations; which, tho' perhaps strange
and incredible in our Days, were no doubt accommodated to
the manners of the Times, of which he wrote. For even in the
Sacred Story we find it recorded, that a single *Goliath* defy'd all
the Armies of *Israel* (b), and with a big look, and a few ar-
rogant Words, put so great terrour into them, that they fled be-
fore him.

Notwithstanding this, in the revolution of a few Ages, Greece
became the celebrated Mother of the bravest, and most experienc'd
Souldiers in the World: For being canton'd into a great num-
ber of little independent States, all which, tho' bordering upon
one another, were govern'd by different Laws, and prosecuted con-
trary Interests, it became the Seat of continual Wars; every Hamlet
being ambitious of enlarging it's Territory, by encroaching upon

(a) *Iliad*. a. v. 152. (b) *1 Sam.* XVII. 11, 24.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

it's neighbour-village, and contending for the addition of a few Lands with no less heat and fury, than if whole Kingdoms had been the Prize: The consequence whereof was, that the *Grecians*, being from their childhood inur'd to Martial Affairs, and having to their native Bravery added long and constant Experience, were render'd as well in good Order and Discipline, as true Courage and Valour, superiour to most other Nations. They became a terror to all the Countries round about them, and with small Numbers often put to flight vast multitudes of the *Barbarians*: The *Persians* frequently experienc'd the sad effects of it in the loss of numerous Armies, and at length of the greatest Empire in the World. And (to enumerate no more Instances in a thing so well known) the *Carthaginians*, tho' Men of great Courage, and excellently skill'd in the Art of War, being worsted in *Sicily* by *Timoleon* the *Corinthian* in several Encounters, and by unequal numbers of Men, were driven into an admiration of the *Grecian* Valour; and forc'd to confess, that they were the most pugnacious and insupportable of Mankind; and forthwith made it their business to entertain as many of them as they could procure, in their Service (a).

But tho' almost all the *Grecians* had their share in Military Glory, yet were the rest far inferiour to the *Lacedemonians*, who by the Laws of their Country were under an obligation to make War their Profession; they never apply'd themselves to any Art, or Employment, or the exercise of Trades, which they accounted unworthy of Generous and Free-born Souls; but, committing all such cares to the *Helots*, who were a gentiler sort of Slaves, spent their Time in manly Exercises, to render their Bodies strong and active. They were also accusom'd by hard Diet, by Stripes, and other severities, patiently to undergo any hardships, to endure Wounds, to encounter any Dangers, and, if the Honour of their Country so requir'd, to throw themselves into the Arms of Death without Fear, or Regret. Yet were they not so imprudent or foolhardy, as to court Dangers, or Death; but were taught from their childhood to be always prepar'd either to live, or die, and equally willing to do either; as appears from those Verses, cited by *Plutarch* (b) to this purpose;

Οἱ δὲ θάνον, ἢ ζῆν θέμειροι καλὸν, ἢ δὲ τὸ θνήσκειν,
Ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρ' ἐκτελέσαι.

They dy'd, but not as lavish of their Blood,
Or thinking Death it self was simply good,
Or Life: both these the strictest Vertue try'd,
And as that call'd, they gladly liv'd, or dy'd.

(a) *Plutarchus Timoleonte.* (b) *Telopida.*

Nor was this Indifferency to Life or Death only discours'd of amongst them, as a point of meer Speculation; but carefully and seriously intill'd into their tender Years, and always embrac'd as one of the first Principles of their Actions; which begot in them such an undaunted Courage, and so firm and unmoveable a Resolution, that scarce any thing compos'd of Flesh and Blood was able to stand before them. This extraordinary and unparalleled Bravery, being adorn'd and strengthen'd with the wisest Conduct, and the most perfect Skill in all the Stratagems of War those Times were capable of, has render'd them famous in Story, and examples of Military Vertue to all succeeding Ages: "For (these are *Plutarch's* (a) words) the *Lacedemonians* were most expert and cunning in the Art of War, being train'd up and accusom'd to nothing more than to keep themselves from Confusion, when their Order should be broken; to follow any Leader or Right-handman, so rallying themselves into Order; and to fight on what part soever Dangers press".

It is therefore by no means to be wonder'd, that foreign and vastly remote Nations should be desirous to entertain the *Lacedemonians* into their Service; that *Cyrus* the Younger should think That the readiest and most effectual Method to advance himself to the Empire of *Persia*: That *Craesus*, the wealthy King of *Lydia*, and several of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, tho' surrounded with numerous Forces of their own, should never esteem themselves secure without assistance from *Sparta*; or that the *Sicilians*, *Thracians*, *Carthaginians*, with the *Cyreneans*, and many others, were beholding to it for Protection, and Deliverance from powerful Enemies. And for the *Grecians* themselves, whenever any of their little States were in danger of being swallow'd up by their more powerful Neighbours, we find them having Recourte for Aid to the *Spartans*, who were a common Refuge to the oppress'd, and restrain'd the Ambitious Invaders of other Men's Rights.

Hence likewise it came to pass, that in all Confederacies they were look'd on as the principal Associates; and in all Wars carry'd on by publick Contributions, they challeng'd the chief Command as their right and peculiar. Nor could any Exigency prevail with them to depart from that Claim, or resign it to the greatest of Princes: *Gelon*, King of *Sicily*, tho' promising to furnish them with large Supplies against the *Barbarians*, on condition he might be declar'd Captain-general of the *Grecian* Forces, was rejected (b). Yet we find, that after the Victory over *Mardonius* at *Plataeæ*, *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian* General, having by his excessive Severity, and Tyrannical Behaviour to the rest of the Souldiers render'd the *Spartans* very odious, in the end they revolted to the *Athenians*,

(a) *Telopidæ*. (b) *Herodotus* lib. VII.

the gentle and courteous Carriage of whose Commanders, *Aristides* and *Cimon*, had endear'd them to all the rest of the *Grecians*: And here the Magnanimity of the *Lacedemonians* was wonderful; For when they perceiv'd that their Generals were corrupted, and their Minds too much elevated and puffed up by the greatness of their Authority, they left off sending any more of them to the Wars, choosing rather to have Citizens of Moderation, and that persever'd in their ancient Manners and Customs, than to be honour'd with the Superiority of all Greece (a). But this Misfortune did not put an end to the *Lacedemonian* Greatness; for we find them in a little time re-assuming their ancient Spirits, and disdaining even *Alexander* himself (tho' submitted to by the rest of the *Grecians*, and declar'd their General against *Persia*) for their Superiour: Which is the reason, that in the Monuments erected after the *Persian* Victories, and bearing the Names of *Alexander* and the *Grecians*, the *Lacedemonians* were excepted by Name, as having no share in that Honour (b).

The *Athenians* alone were able to dispute with the *Lacedemonians* this Prerogative; some few times excepted, when some unusual Success rais'd any of the other States beyond their ordinary Grandeur; as it happen'd to the *Thebans*, who, from a mean and despicable People, were by the Conduct of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* advanc'd to an Equality, if not a Superiority over the most flourishing Cities of Greece.

Notwithstanding these, and some other Obstacles, the *Lacedemonians* for the most part made good their Pretensions, and, in most Wars carry'd on by a Confederacy, were Generals of all the Land-forces; but were at length constrain'd to leave the Dominion of the Seas to the *Athenians*; who having laid out their whole Strength in fitting out a Navy against *Xerxes*, for a long Time reign'd sole Lords of the liquid Element: During which Season we find a Decree put forth by their Senate, wherein it was order'd, That the Command of all the Naval Forces of Greece should belong to Athens; but the Land-armies should obey a General from Sparta (c). But the Rival Cities could not be long content with this equal distribution of Power, each being jealous of the other's Greatness, and thinking her self best able to govern the whole Jurisdiction; till at length the *Athenians*, having their whole Fleet, except twelve Trireme-Gallies, destroy'd at once by *Lysander* the *Spartan* Admiral, in the famous Battle at *Egos-potamus*, were constrain'd to own the *Lacedemonians* for Sovereigns both at Sea and Land (d).

(a) *Plutarchus Aristide*. (b) *Plutarchus Alexandro*, *Arrianus De gestis Alexandri* lib. I. (c) *Xenophon Encheiridion* lib. VII. (d) *Xenophon anekta kypa anagig* lib. VI. *Plutarchus Lysandro*.

But the *Lacedemonians* were not long able to maintain this Command; for the *Athenians*, having recruited their Naval Forces, and engag'd *Evagoras* the King of *Cyprus*, and *Pharnabazus* the *Persian* Emperour's Lieutenant to their Interest; by their Assistance, and the singular Conduct of their own Admiral *Conon*, gave them so great an overthrow at *Cnidus* (a), that they never after pretended to contest the Sovereignty of the Seas; contenting themselves with the chief Command at Land, which the *Athenians* suffer'd them to enjoy without farther molestation; both Cities being weary of the Contention, and convinc'd at length of the Truth of what had been commonly observ'd, That Fortune was most favourable to the *Lacedemonians* by Land, but in Sea-engagements sided with the *Athenians* (b). This seems not to have been without reason, the *Athenians* by the commodiousness of their Situation being dispos'd, and, as it were, invited by Nature to apply themselves to Naval Affairs; whereas the *Lacedemonians* were plac'd at a greater distance from the Sea, and more inclin'd to Land-service, (to which they were inur'd from their tender Years) than to venture themselves on the Ocean, to which they had never been accusom'd; for *Lycurgus* their Law-giver expressly forbid them (c) to visit foreign Countries, out of a well-grounded fear, lest his Citizens should be corrupted by the conversation of Strangers, and forsake that excellent platform of Government, he contriv'd for them: And it happen'd to them as he had wisely foreseen; for no sooner had *Lysander* render'd them Sovereigns of the Seas, when they began by degrees to leave off their ancient Customs, and sensibly to degenerate from the Vertue and Glory of their Ancestours (d).

CHAPTER II.

Of their Levies, Pay, &c. of Souldiers.

THE *Grecian* Armies consisted for the most part of free Denizens, whom the Laws of their Country oblig'd, when arriv'd at a prefix'd Age, to appear in Arms, upon the summons of the Magistrate, or Commission'd-Officer. In some places they were more early admitted to the Wars, in others later; the *Athenians* were sent at twenty, the *Spartans* seldom till thirty:

(a) *Isocrates pro Evagora*, in *Philippum*, *Panathenæica*, *Xenophon* *Εκκλιωξάρ* lib. VI. *Plutarchus* *Artaxerxe*. (b) *Xenophon* *Εκκλιωξάρ* lib. VII. (c) *Plutarchus* *Institut. Lacedæmonicis*. (d) *Demosthenes* *Orat. in Philip.* III.

The younger Men in both Cities, with those, who by reason of their Age were discharg'd from Military Service, were left at home to defend their Habitations.

Some Persons were excus'd by reason of their Age; for having spent their Youth and Strength in serving their Country, it was but reasonable to discharge them from farther Service, that they might end their Days in Peace. After threescore Years it seems to have been usual in most places to allow them Liberty of retiring. Others were exempt on account of their Function; such were at Athens οἱ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκιστῆς, the Farmers of the publick Customs (a); and several of the holy Orders, with those that were appointed to dance at Bacchus's Festival (b).

Others were excluded from serving in the Wars; such were the Slaves, and such others as liv'd amongst them, but were not honour'd with the Freedom of their Cities. These were never admitted, except in cases of extreme Danger, when there remain'd no other means of preserving the Common-wealth. Of this Custom I have already given a large Account in one of the fore-going Books (c).

All that serv'd, were enter'd into a publick List, or Register; whence the Levy was call'd καταγραφή, κατάλογος, σφαλολογία; and to make a Levy, κατάλογον, or καταγραφὴν ποιεῖν. Amongst the Primitive Grecians, it seems to have been frequently made by Lots, every Family being oblig'd to furnish out a certain number, and filling up their proportion by the Chance of Lots: Whence Mercury in Homer (d), pretending to be one of the seven Sons of Polydorus the Myrmidon, adds, that he was appointed by Lots to follow Achilles to the Trojan War,

Τῶν μετὰ πολλῶν, κλήρω λείπον ἐνθάδ' ἔπειτα.

'Twas I, who when the Lots were drawn,
Was doom'd to follow Pelus's mighty Son.

For the appointment of all Persons of a certain Age to be ready to serve in the Wars, seems only to be an Institution of later Ages; whereas all such like things were formerly manag'd at the pleasure of the Supreme Magistrate.

The Souldiers were all maintain'd at their own expences; no Name was more opprobrious than that of a Mercenary, it being look'd upon as a Disgrace for any Person of ingenuous Birth and Education to serve for Wages. For all this, it was not permitted any Person to absent himself, except upon reasons allow'd by the Law; and whoever was found thus to have transgress'd, was at

(a) Demosthenes in Nearam. (b) Idem Midiana. (c) Lib. I. Cap. X.
(d) Iliad ω'.

Athens depriv'd of his Voice in all publick Business, and in a manner of all other Rights of Citizens, and was forbidden to enter into any of the publick Temples (a). And lest any of the Persons appointed to serve should make their escape, we find they were branded in the Hand with certain Marks, call'd *στυματα*, to which Custom Saint *Paul* is thought to allude in his Epistle to the *Galatians* (b), where speaking of the wounds he had receiv'd in his Christian Warfare, he tells us, that he bore in his body the *στυματα*, or Marks, of the Lord *JESUS*.

The *Carians* were the first that serv'd in *Greece* for Pay (c), and have thereby render'd their Name infamous to Posterity; being represented by all the Writers of those Times, as a base and servile Nation; insomuch that *καίκοι*, and *καίκοιρες*, are Proverbial Epithets for Persons of abject and pusillanimous Tempers, or servile Condition (d); and *Κάρες*, is a synonymous term for Slaves; as in that Proclamation at the end of the *Athenian* Festival *Anthesteria*, whereby the Slaves were commanded to be gone out of Doors;

Οὐραζε, Κάρες, ἐκ τῆς Ἀνθестείας.

Be gone, ye Slaves, the *Anthesteria* are ended.

Thus they despis'd the poor *Carians* for introducing a Custom, which in a few Ages after was so far from being look'd upon as unworthy their Birth, or Education, that we find it practis'd by the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, who not only receiv'd Pay for serving their own Common-wealths, but list'd themselves under foreign Kings, and fought their Battles for Hire; their chief Magistrates not disdaining to accompany them in such Expeditions. Several Instances of this sort might be produc'd; were not that famous one of the Great *Agessilaus's* condescending to serve *Ptolemee*, King of *Egypt*, instead of numbers of others.

The first that introduc'd the Custom of paying Souldiers at *Athens* was *Pericles*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, represented how unreasonable it was, that Men of small Estates; and scarce able to provide for their Families, should be oblig'd to neglect their Business, and spend what their Industry had laid up, in the publick Service, and thereupon prefer'd a Decree that all of them should have Subsistence-money out of the Exchequer (e); which seems to have been receiv'd with general Applause. What Sum they daily receiv'd cannot easily be determin'd, it being encreas'd, or diminish'd as occasion requir'd. At

(a) *Aeschines* (resphontea, *Demosthenes* Timocratea. (b) Cap. VI, 17. (c) *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, *Etymologici* Auctor. (d) *Hesychius*. (e) *Ulpianus* in Orat. De Syn-

first we find the Foot-Souldiers had two *Oboli* a Day, which in a Month amounted to ten *Drachms* (a). What we read in *Thucydides* (b) of the Souldiers that garrison'd *Potidea*, to every one of which was allotted a *Drachm* a Day, with another to a Servant for attending upon him, must not be understood, as if their ordinary Pay was of that value, that being only to the common Sea-men of *Athens* three *Oboli*, to those that mann'd the Sacred Vessel call'd *Πάραλος*, and the Foot-Souldiers, four; whence *τετραβολὸς βίον* is a Proverbial Expression for a Souldier's life (c); and *τετραβολίζειν* for serving in the War. The Horsemen's Pay was for the most part thirty *Drachms* a Month, that is a *Drachm* a Day; this we find to have been term'd *κατάστασις* (d).

The ordinary Method of raising this Money, was by imposing a Tax on the whole Community-wealth, whereby all Persons were oblig'd to contribute according to the value of their Estates. But this was done only, when the publick Treasury was exhausted, and the constant Revenues from Tributary Cities, publick Lands, Woods, Mines, or from Fines and Amercements were not sufficient to defray the charges of the War. In cases of greater Necessity, the Richer Citizens at *Athens* were oblig'd to extraordinary Contributions, and there appears to have been a generous and laudable Emulation amongst the Men of Quality in that City, who voluntarily offer'd more than was requir'd of them, and contended which of them should most largely contribute towards the Honour and Preservation of their Native Country.

Confederate Wars were maintain'd at the common Charge of all the Allies, every one of whom was oblig'd to send forth a proportion of Men; as we find practis'd in the *Trojan War*, which was the first, wherein the whole Country of *Greece* united against a foreign Enemy. Sometimes they were carry'd on by publick Contributions of Money, levy'd by Persons delegated by the common consent of the Confederates, which was only the Practice of later Ages; the primitive Wars, wherein the Souldiers serv'd at their own Expence, and supply'd their Necessities out of the Spoils of their Enemies, being manag'd with less charge to the Publick. The first Tax, or Tribute of this Nature that we find paid by the *Grecians*, was after the Expulsion of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*, when they agree'd to make an Invasion upon their common Enemy, under the conduct of the *Athenians*: For then *Aristides* the *Athenian*, at the general desire of the *Greeks*, survey'd the whole Country and Revenue, and assess'd all particular Persons Town by Town, according to every Man's ability: Thus he tax'd them four hundred Talents, to which *Pericles* added about a third part more; for we find in *Thucydides*, that in the begin-

(a) *Demosthenes Philipp. I.* (b) *Lib. III.* (c) *Eustath. Odyss. α.* (d) *Suidas V*

ning of the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians had coming in from their Confederates six hundred Talents. After Pericles's Death, being encreas'd by little and little, it was at length rais'd to the sum of thirteen hundred Talents (a); all which was manag'd at the Discretion of the Athenians.

CHAPTER III.

Of the different sorts of Souldiers.

THE Armies were compos'd of various sorts of Souldiers, their Gros, or Main Body usually consisted of Foot-men, the rest rode some in Chariots, some on Horseback, others upon Elephants.

The Foot-Souldiers we find distinguish'd into three sorts; the first and Principal of which were term'd Οπλίται (b), being such as bore heavy Armour, engaging with broad Shields, and long Spears.

2. Ψιλοί, were Light-arm'd Men, who fought with Arrows, and Darts, or Stones and Slings, annoying their Enemies at a distance, but were unfit for close Fight. They were in Honour and Dignity inferior to the Heavy-arm'd Souldiers; and therefore when Teucer in Sophocles quarrels with Menelaus, he is scoffingly reprov'd by him in this manner,

Ο τοξότης ὅσκιαν ἔσμιχρά φρονεῖν (c).

This Archer seems to think himself some-body.

It seems to have been frequent for them, having shot their Arrows, to retire behind the Shields of the Heavy-arm'd for Protection; for so we find the same Teucer doing in Homer (d),

Τεύκρος δ' εἰσάγων ἦλθε, παλίντονα τόξα πηλίων,
 Σπῆ δ' ἄρ' ὥς Αἰάντης σάκει Τελαμωνιάδαο,
 Εὐθ' Αἴας μὲν ὑπεξέφριγεν σάκος· αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἦρας
 Παπλήνας, ἐπεὶ ἄρ' τιν' οἰσεύσας ἐν ὀμίλῳ
 Βελήκη, ὃ μὲν αὖτις πωτὸν ὑπὸ θυμὸν ὄλασεν·
 Αὐτὰρ ὃ αὖτις ἰδὼν, πάϊς ὥς ὑπὸ μητέρα, δούκειν
 Εἰς Αἴανθ', ὃ Νέ μιν σάκει κρύπτεσθαι φρονέω.

(a) Plutarchus Aristide. (b) Suidas v. ὀπλίται. (c) Sophocl. Ajas. v. 1141.
 (d) Iliad. 8. v. 266.

Teucer the ninth from these at length appear'd,
And all his Bows for certain Deaths prepar'd;
Lurk'd behind Ajax's Shield the Hero stood,
Which whensoever the Warlike Chief remov'd,
Around on all he casts his angry Eyes,
Threatning Destruction to his Enemies;
But when he saw or wounded one, or slain,
Back he betook him to his Shield again.
So tim'rous Boys, approaching Ills to shun,
With eager haste to careful Mothers run.

Mr. Hutchin.

3. Πέλται (a), tho' frequently comprehended under the Ψιλοί as oppos'd to the ὀπλίται, were a middle sort between both, being arm'd with Shields and Spears, but far inferiour in bigness to those of the Heavy-arm'd Men. From their narrow Shields call'd πέλται, they receiv'd their Name.

The Horsemen amongst the Ancient Grecians were not very numerous, being only such as were possess'd of Estates, and able to furnish out Horses at their own Charge. Hence both at Athens and Sparta we find ἵππεις, or Horsemen, to have compos'd the second Order in the Common-wealth, being plac'd above the Commonalty, and next to those of the highest Quality and Fortune; The same is recorded of the Roman Equites, and (to mention no more) we are told by Herodotus (b), that among the Chalcidians none but Rich Men were admitted into that Order. Afterwards, when Men of Estates began to court Ease and Pleasure, and thought it more advisable to furnish out a Horseman, and maintain him at their proper Expences, than to venture their own Persons; they retain'd indeed their former Name, but the Honour of Serving on Horse-back was lost (c).

Who it was, that first instructed Mankind in the Art of Horsemanship, is not agree'd on by the ancient Writers of Fables; some attributing it to the Amazons (d), others to the Centaurs (e), others to Bellerophon (f); others, lastly (to trouble you with no more) ascribe the Honour of it to Neptune (g), the first Creatour of this Animal; for which reason we find the various Epithets ἵππιος (h), ἵππαρχος (i), ἵππικῆτος (k), ἵπποκλέους, &c. conferr'd upon him by the Poets, and Mythologists.

Whoever oblig'd Mankind with the first Invention of this Art, seems to have left it very imperfect; for in those early Ages 'tis

(a) Suidas loc. cit. Alianus. (b) Lib. V. (c) Xenophon ἑλληνικὰν lib. VI. (d) Lyfias Orator. (e) Palaphatus lib. I. (f) Plinius lib. VII. cap. LVI. (g) Homerus in Hymn. Sophocles Oedipo. (h) Pausanias Achaicus. (i) Pindarus Pyth. (k) Lycophron Cassandr.

probable they understood not the Method of governing Horses with Reins, and Bits, but manag'd them only with a Rope, or Switch, and the Accent of their Voice; this we find to have been the Practise of several other Nations, as the *Numidians* (a), *Germanians* (b), *Lybians* (c), and *Massylians* of whom *Lucan* speaks thus (d),

*Et gens quæ nudo residens Masylia dorso,
Ora levi flectit frænorum nescia virgâ.*

Without a Saddle the *Massylians* ride,
And with a tender Switch their Horses guide.

Afterwards Bridles came into Fashion, of which the most remarkable were those call'd *Lupata*, having Bits of Iron, not unlike Wolves Teeth, and therefore call'd in Greek *Λύκοι*, in Latin *Lupi*: whence *Horace* (e),

————— *Gallica nec lupatis
Temperet ora frænis.*

Nor with the sharper Bits
Manage th' unruly Horse.

The first Invention of them is by *Statius* attributed to *Neptune*,

————— *Neptunus equo, si certa priorum
Fama pater, primus teneris læsisse lupatis
Ora, & litoreo domuisse in pulvere fertur.*

Neptune, if we may credit give to Fame,
First taught with Bits the gen'rous Horse to tame.

By others to the *Lapithæ*, or *Centaurs*, who inhabited a Town in *Thessaly*, call'd *Pelethronium*: Thus *Virgil* (f),

*Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ, gyroque dedere
Impositi dorso*—————

The *Lapithæ* of *Pelethronium* rode
With Bridles first, and what their use was shew'd.

Tho' some are of opinion that the Poet speaks of Bridles, as invented not by the *Lapithæ*, but a Man of that Nation, whose Name was *Pelethronius*, to whom we find *Pliny* also attributing the Invention of Bridles, and Harness (g): The last of these the

(a) *Silius* lib. I. (b) *Idem* lib. II. (c) *Strabo* lib. XVII. (d) *Lucanus* lib. IV. (e) *Lib. I. Od. VIII.* (f) *Georgic. III. 115.* (g) *Lib. VII. cap. LVI.*

Greeks term *σποῦδα*, and *ἐρίπνη*, which were made of divers sorts of Stuffs, as Leathers, Cloth, or the Skins of wild Beasts. *Parthenopæus's* Horse is cover'd with the Skin of a *Lynx* in *Statius*; *Aeneas's* in *Virgil* with a *Lion's* (a),

————— *quem fulva leonis*
Pellis obit —————

Cover'd with a *Lion's* Skin. —————

Sometimes we find them adorn'd with rich and costly Cloathing; as in the same Poet (b),

Omnibus extemplo Teucris jubet ordine duci
Instratos ostro alipeder, pictisque tapetis,
Aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent.

For ev'ry *Trojan* straight it is decreed,
That sprightly Couriers be in order led,
Adorn'd with costly Trappings, to whose Breasts
The Golden Poitrrels hang. —————

Of the Saddles in use amongst us we find no mention in any ancient Writer; as neither of the *Stapia*, or more properly *Subexpedaneus*, or *Stitrop*, which do's not appear to have been us'd till these later Ages; there being no notice taken of any such thing in any Author, that I know of, before *Eustathius*, who flourish'd about five hundred Years ago, and in his Commentaries upon *Homer* hath mention'd an Instrument of this sort. In former Ages they supply'd the want of such helps by their Art, or Agility of Body; being able to leap on Horseback, as the Heroes in *Virgil* (c),

————— *Corpora saltu*
Subjiciunt in equos —————

And by a Leap bestride their Horses.

Or for their greater convenience, the Horses were taught submissively to bow their Bodies to the Ground, and receive their Riders upon their Backs (d), as we find practis'd as well in *Greece*, as by the ancient *Spaniards* (e), and other Nations. Hence *Silius* speaks of the Horse of *Cladius*, a *Roman* Knight in this manner (f),

Inde inclinatus collum, submissus & armos
De more, inflexis præbebat scandere terga
Cruentibus —————

(a) *Æn.* VIII. (b) *Æn.* VII. (c) *Æn.* XII. (d) *Pollux* lib. I. cap. XI.
(e) *Strabo* lib. III. (f) *Lib.* X.

Downwards the Horse his Head, and shoulders bent,
To give his Rider a more fair ascent.

Sometimes we find them leaping up by the help of their Spears, or other things. Several other Methods were us'd by Men of weak, and unactive Bodies: Some getting up on the Backs of their Slaves (a); others by the help of short Ladders; both which Supports were term'd *ἀναβολαίς*. Lastly, we find the High-ways fill'd with Stones erected for this purpose; which is said to have been done in Italy by Gracchus (b); and in Greece was always one part of the business of the Overseers of the Roads (c).

Let us now return to their Military Affairs, where we shall find it disputed, whether the Warriours of primitive Ages were carry'd to the Field in Chariots, or on Horse-back: Lucretius indeed tells us, that the first Heroes were mounted upon Horses, whereas Chariots were only a later Invention (d),

*Et prius est repperitum in equi conscendere costas,
Et moderari hunc frenis dextraque vigere,
Quam bigo curru belli tentare pericla.*

Mounted on well-rein'd Steeds in ancient Time,
Before the use of Chariots was brought in,
The first brave Heroes fought.———

But we are inform'd by *Palæphatus*, that Chariots were first in use; the *Lapithe*, who flourish'd about *Hercules's* Time, being the first that attempted to ride upon Horses, a thing strange and unheard of by the *Grecians* in those Days, who view'd them not without amazement, imagining them to have been Monsters compounded of the different shapes of Men and Horses, or Bulls, which they frequently back'd instead of Horses; whence we have the Fables of the *Centaurs*, and *Hippocentaurs*. And 'tis more than probable, that at the time of the *Trojan War*, the custom of Riding and Fighting upon Horses was not commonly receiv'd by the *Grecians*; since the Heroes of *Homer*, whose Authority must in such cases ever be held Sacred, are always introduc'd into the Battel in Chariots, never on Horse-back.

The Chariots of Princes, and Heroes were not only contriv'd for Service, but Ornament; being richly emboss'd with Gold, and other Metals, as we read of *Orsines the Persian's* in *Curius* (e), and several of *Homer's*, as that of *Rhesus* (f),

(a) *Volaterranus* Epit. *Xenophon*. (b) *Plutarchus* *Gracchus*. (c) *Xenophon* *Hipparcho*. (d) *Lib. V.* (e) *Lib. X.* (f) *Iliad. x.*

Αρμα δὲ οἱ χρυσῶ τε, καὶ ἀργυρῶ εὖ ἡσκηται,
Silver and Gold his Chariot did adorn.

And another of *Diomedes* (a),

Αρματὰ τε χρυσῶ πεπυκασμένα, κασιτέρῳ τε.
Chariots richly adorn'd with Gold and Tin.

They were likewise adorn'd with curious Hangings; whence we read of *Lycæon's* Chariot (b),

_____ ἀμφὶ δ' ἄν πτεροί
Πτέρανται. _____

Like Wings it's Hangings are expanded wide.

And *Achilles's* the Poet calls ἀρμάδα εὖ πεπυκασμένα (c).

The Chariots in *Homer* are drawn for the most part by two Horses coupled together; that of *Achilles* had no more, the Names of his Horses being only *Xanthus* and *Balius*. So *Lycæon's* (d),

_____ παρὰ δὲ σφιν ἐκείσῃ δίζυγες ἵπποι
ἔστασαν _____

Two well-pair'd Steeds to ev'ry Chariot stand.

And *Aeneas's* in *Virgil* (e),

Absenti Aeneæ currum, geminosque jugales.

A Chariot, and two sprightly Steeds are sent
To absent *Aeneas*. _____

To these two they sometimes added a third, which was not coupled with the other two, but govern'd with Reins, and therefore call'd σιγαῖον, σιγαφορεον, ὀδισσιεγος, &c. but in *Homer* usually παρῖεγος, and the Rein wherewith he was held in παρῖοεῖα. The same Custom was practis'd by the *Romans*, till the time of *Dionysius the Halicarnassian* (f), tho' left off in *Greece* long before. In the

(a) *Iliad*. γ. (b) *Iliad*. ε. (c) *Iliad*. κ. (d) *Iliad*. ε. (e) *Æneid*. VII. v. 280. (f) *Antiquit. Rom.* lib. VII.

eighth *Iliad*, *Hector's* Chariot seems to be drawn by four Horses for there the Hero thus bespeaks 'em,

Ξάνθε τε, καὶ σὺ Πόδαςγε, καὶ Αἰῶν, Λάμπε τε δῖε,

And however some ancient Criticks will have the two former to be no more than Epithets of the later, because *Hector* afterwards speaks them in the Dual Number,

Νῦν μοι τὼ κομῶν Σποτίνετον ———

Yet it is evident from other places, that even in *Homer's* time it was customary to have Chariots drawn by four Horses; as when he tells us, the *Phaeacian* Ship shap'd her course,

——— ὥς ἐν πεδίῳ τετραόρες ἵπποι (a).

Every Chariot carry'd two Men, whence it was term'd δίφρος, γ. δίφρος, (b); tho' that word do's not in it's strict and proper acceptation denote the whole Chariot, but only that part, wherein the Men were plac'd. One of these was call'd ἡνίοχος, because he govern'd the Reins, which in those days was not a Servile, or ignoble Office, but frequently undertaken by Men of Quality; for we find *Nestor* (c), *Hector* (d), and several others of Note employ'd in it; and that not on extraordinary occasions, but frequently, some of them making it their Profession. Yet the Charioteer was inferiour, if not always in Dignity, at least in Strength and Valour to the Warriour, who was call'd παροισάτης, and had command of the other, and directed him which way to drive, as *Eustathius* observes (e). When he came to encounter in close Fight, he alighted out of the Chariot, as we find every where in *Homer*, and the rest of the Poets. So *Hercules* and *Cycnus* about to engage,

——— ἐνπλεκέων δίφρων δόρον αἰψ' ὅτι γαῖαν (e).

Leapt from their Chariots on the Ground.

And *Turnus* in *Virgil* (g),

——— Desiluit bijugis, pedes apparat ire.

Dismounts his Horse, and fits himself to walk.

(a) *Odys.* v. (b) *Eustathius*. (c) *Iliad.* v. (d) *Iliad.* f. (e) *Iliad.* v. (f) *Hesiodus Scuto.* (g) *Aeneid.* X.

When they were weary, which often happen'd by reason of their Armour, being heavier than any other, they retir'd into their Chariots, and thence annoy'd their Enemies with Darts, and missile Weapons.

Beside these, we find frequent mention in Historians of Chariots call'd *Carrus falcati*, and *σπεπαινοφόροι*, because arm'd with Hooks, or Styths, with which whole Ranks of Souldiers were cut off together. But afterwards it being consider'd, they were never of any use but in plain and open Ground, and were frequently turn'd back by affrighted and ungovernable Horses upon their own party, to it's confusion and ruin, several Methods also being contriv'd to defeat or elude their Force, these and all other Chariots were wholly laid aside. Accordingly, when Military Discipline was carry'd to it's height, tho' sometimes they were brought into Battles by Barbarians, as may be observ'd of the *Persians* in *Curtius*, yet we never find the *Grecians* make any use of them, or much damag'd by them; but contemning that old and unskilful Method of Fighting, they chose rather to ride on Horse-back, which Custom seems to have been receiv'd in a short time after the Heroick Wars.

Of all the *Grecians* the *Thessalians* have the greatest Name for Horsemanship, and in all Wars we find their Cavalry most esteem'd. The *Colophonians* had once by many remarkable Actions arriv'd to such a pitch of Glory, as to be look'd on as *Invincible*; In all long and tedious Wars their Assistance was courted, and the Party that obtain'd Supplies from them, was certain of Success and Victory: Insomuch that *Κολοφῶνα πένειναι*, and in *Latin* *Colophonem imponere* was us'd Proverbially for putting a Conclusion to any Affair (a). The *Lacedæmonians* were but meanly furnish'd with Cavalry, and till the *Messenian* Wars it does not appear that either they, or the rest of the *Peloponnesians* employ'd themselves in Horsemanship, but repos'd their chief Confidence in Foot (b); *Peloponnesus* being a Mountainous and Craggy Countrey, and therefore unfit for Horsemen (c), who in such places become almost useless in Fight. But the *Messenians* being subdu'd, the *Spartans* carrying their Arms into other Countries, soon found the great occasion they had of Horse to support and cover their Foot; and in a short time supply'd that Defect, by instructing their Youth in Horsemanship; to which end we find they had Masters in that Art, call'd *ἵπποχαρῆται* (d). But the greatest part of their Cavalry was furnish'd from *Sciros* (e), a Town not far distant from *Sparta*, the Inhabitants of which claim'd as their proper Post, the left Wing in the *Lacedæmonian* Armies (f). *Attica*

(a) *Strabo* lib. XIV. (b) *Pausanias* lib. IV. (c) *Plato*. (d) *Hesychius*.
(e) *Xenophon* *Κυροπιδ.* lib. IV. (f) *Thucydides* lib. V.

was likewise an hilly Country, and therefore not design'd by Nature for breeding Horses: we find accordingly the *Athenian* Cavalry to have been exceeding few in Number, consisting only of ninety-six Horsemen: For the whole *Athenian* Nation being anciently divided into forty-eight *Naucrariae*, we are told by *Pollux*, that the Number of Horses, each of these were oblig'd to furnish to the War, was no more than two. And therefore 'tis no great wonder if the *Medes* thought them depriv'd of reason, when at the Battel of *Marathon* they had courage to encounter a strong and numerous Army with so small, and appearingly contemptible a Force (a). Having afterwards expell'd the *Medes* and *Persians* out of *Greece*, and rais'd themselves to a flourishing Condition, they encreas'd the Number of their Cavalry to three hundred; and not long after, having once more restor'd Peace to their City, and establish'd it in great Power and Splendour than before, they augmented them to twelve hundred, and arm'd at the same time an equal Number of Men with Bows and Arrows (b), of which they had before no greater plenty than of Horses; For both then, and afterwards, the strength of most of the *Grecian* Armies consisted in their heavy-arm'd Foot.

The *Athenians* admitted none to serve on Horse-back, till he had undergon a strict probation; and if any Person was found to have fraudulently insinuated himself into the List, upon Conviction he was declar'd ἀπμος, and disfranchis'd (c). This consisted, with respect to the Men, in a Search after their Estates, and observation of their Strength and Vigour of Body: For no Persons were enter'd into the List, but such as had plentiful Possessions, and were in good Plight of Body (d). Those that were found to be infirm, and worn out with Age, or Service, were branded with a mark call'd πρὸςπιπον, which was a token of their Discharge (e). In Horses, they observ'd their obedience to their Riders, and such as they found ungovernable, or fearfull, were rejected: This was examin'd τὸ κῶδωνος ἰσχυρῶ, by the sound of a Bell, or some other instrument of that nature: Whence κῶδωνίζειν is expounded πειράζειν, to try, or prove; and ἀκῶδωνισον is the same with ἀπειρασον, unprov'd. Such Horses likewise as were beaten out with long service, they branded upon the Jaw with a mark, frequently term'd τροχός (f), being the figure of a Wheel, or Circle, and sometimes πρὸςπιπον, whereby the Beast was releas'd from farther service.

We meet with several Titles and Appellations of Horsemen, most

(a) *Herodotus*. (b) *Aeschines* Orat. de falsa legatione, *Andocides* Orat. de pace. (c) *Lyfias* Orat. de ordine deserto. (d) *Xenophon*. (e) *Hesychius*. (f) *Hesychius*.

of which were deriv'd from the variety of their Armour, or different manner of fighting, as that of ἀκροβολισαί, who annoy'd their Enemies with missive Weapons at some distance, δορατοφόροι, ξυστοφόροι, ὑπακοντισαί, ἵπποτοξόται, κοντοφόροι, θυρεοφόροι, with others, the distinction of all which is sufficiently intimated in their Names.

Ἀμφίπτοι, sometimes by mistake, or corruption, call'd ἀνίπτοι (a), were such as for conveniency had two Horses, on which they rode by turns. They were sometimes term'd ἵππαγωγοί, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγειν ἵππον, because they lead one of their Horses; which was not a late contrivance, but practis'd soon after the Heroical Times, as appears from Homer's (b) mentioning it,

ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἶψι
Ὀρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβετο, οἱ δ' ἐπέπονται.

Nor do's he ever fall, tho' at full speed
He leap from one upon the other Steed.

Δρυάδες, first instituted by Alexander the Great, were a sort of Dragoons, and accommodated with Armour something heavier than that of ordinary Horse-men, but not quite so weighry as that of the Foot-souldiers; to the end they might be ready to serve either on Horse-back, or on Foot; for which reason they had servants attending to take their Horses, whenever the General commanded them to alight (c).

They were also distinguish'd into κατὰφρακτοί, and μὴ κατὰφρακτοί, i.e. heavy, and light arm'd, after the same manner with the Foot-men. The κατὰφρακτοί, or Curassiers, were not only fortify'd with Armour themselves, but had their Horses guarded with solid Plates of Brass, or other metals, which from the Members defended by them receiv'd different names, being call'd περσμετωπίδια, παρώπια, παρήνια, περσενίδια, ὄδραπυείδια, ὄδραμείδια, παρακνημίδια, &c. (d), sometimes they were compos'd of Skins fortify'd with plates of metal, curiously wrought into Plumes, or other Forms. Thus we find one of Virgil's Hero's arm'd his Steed; (e)

Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis ahenis
In plumam squamis auro conferta regebat.

He spur'd his gen'rous Horse, whose Cloathing was
A Skin beset with Plates of Gold and Brass
Made in the Fashion of a costly Plume.

(a) Suidas, Pollux, lib. I. cap. X. n. V. (b) *Iliad*. ο'. 684. (c) Pollux loc. cit. (d) Idem eodem cap. (e) *Æn*. XI. v. 770.

They were likewise bedeck'd with various Ornaments, viz. with Bells, as we find *Rhesus's* Horses in *Euripides*; with Cloathing of Tapestry, Embroidery, and other curious Work; with rich Collars, and Trappings, or what the *Latins* call *phalerae*, the *Grecians* call *phalerae*, which some will have to be an Ornament for the Fore-head, others for the Jaw; nor are there wanting, who think them to signify all the Ornaments belonging to Horses.

Of Camels and Elephants, which are so much talk'd of in the Wars of some Countries, we have no Mention in the *Grecian* Story before the Times of *Alexander*, when we find a great number of Elephants transported from the Eastern parts of the World. These were wont to carry into the Battle large Towers, in which ten, fifteen, and as some affirm, thirty Souldiers were contain'd, who annoy'd their Enemies with missile Weapons, themselves being secure, and out of danger (a). Nor were the Beasts idle, or useless in Engagements; For beside that, with their Smell, their vast and amazing Bulk, and their strange and terrible Noise, both Horses and Souldiers were struck with Terror and Astonishment, they acted their parts courageously, trampling under Feet all Opposers, or catching them in their Trunks, and tossing into the Air, or delivering them to their Riders (b). Nor was it unusual for them to engage with one another with great Fury, which they always doubled after they had receiv'd Wounds, tearing their Adversaries in pieces with their Teeth (c). But in a short Time they were wholly laid aside, their service not being able to compensate the great Mischiefs frequently done by them: For tho' they were endu'd with a great measure of Sagaciousness, and approach'd nearer to Human Reason than any other Animal, whereby they became more tractable to their Governours, and capable to pay obedience to their Instructions; yet being sore wounded and press'd upon by their Enemies, they became ungovernable, and frequently turn'd all their Rage upon their own Party, put them into confusion, committed terrible Slaughters, and deliver'd the Victory to their Enemies; of which several remarkable Instances are recorded in the Historians of both Languages.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Grecian Arms and Weapons, with their Military Apparel.

THE Authors of Fables tell us, the first Person, that put on Armour, was *Mars*, who perhaps for no other reason was ho-

(a) *Philostrophus Vita Apollonii* lib. I. cap. VI. (b) *Curtius* lib. VIII. (c) *Polybius* lib. V.

honour'd with the Title of God of War; it being very frequent with the ancient Heathens gratefully to acknowledge their obligations to the first Contrivers of any profitable Invention, by ascribing them into the number of their Deities, and decreeing to them the perpetual Care and Sovereignty of those usefull and ingenious Arts, or Contrivances, whereof they were the first Authors. The Workman employ'd by *Mars*, was *Vulcan*, at that time a Master-smith in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and so eminent in his Profession, that Posterity advanc'd him among the Gods, and honour'd him with the Superintendency and Protection of his own Trade: but his Country-men the *Lemnians* were not so fortunate; for they stand represented to all Ages as common Enemies of Mankind, and branded with all the marks and characters of Infamy, for so execrable and pernicious a Device. Whence the Poets have fix'd upon them the Name of *Σίντιες*, to continue the memory of the *Harm* they did to Mankind. Thus *Homer* (a);

Ενθα μὲ Σίντιες ἄνδρες ἄφαρ κομίσαντο πρῶντα.

Turn'd out of Heav'n the *Lemnians* me receiv'd.

Their Country likewise was call'd *Σίντις*, as we find in *Hollonius* (b);

Εἰς αὐτὴν κραναίῳ Σίντιϊδα Λήμιον ἴκοντο.

To *Lemnos*, otherwise *Sinteis* call'd,
They say'd.

From the same original are deriv'd those common Proverbs, *Λήμνια γὰρ*, great and intolerable Evils: *Λήμνια χεὶρ*, a fatal, or mischievous Hand: And *Λήμιον βλέπειν*, to have a cruel and bloody Look (c). Tho' some will by no means allow this Character to have been given to the *Lemnians* for their Invention of Arms, but rather for the frequent Piracies, and Outrages committed by them upon Foreigners, or for other Reasons: Whereas they tell us that *Liber*, or *Bacchus* was the first that introduc'd into the World the use of Weapons (d).

The Arms of all the primitive Hero's were compos'd of Brass, as appears from *Homer*, who is herein follow'd as well by the ancient Poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*, as all other Writers that give account of those Times. *Pausanias* hath endeavour'd to prove

(a) *Iliad*. α'. prope finem. (b) *Argon*. II. (c) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. α'. p. 119. Edit. Basil. (d) *Isidorus* Orig. lib. IX. cap. III.

this by a great number of Instances (a); 'tis reported in *Plutarch* (b) that when *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* convey'd the Bones of *Theſeus* from the Isle of *Scyros* to *Athens*, he found interr'd with him a sword of Braſs, and a ſpear with an Head of the ſame Metal. More Examples would be ſuperfluous, ſince we are expreſſy told by *Heſiod*, that there was no ſuch thing as Iron in thoſe Ages, but their Arms, all ſorts of Inſtruments, and their very Houſes were made of Braſs (c);

Τοῖς δ' ὡς χαλκεα μὲν τὰ δόχη, χαλκεοὶ δὲ τε οἴκοι,
Χαλκῶ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἐκ ἔσχε σίδερος.

Not yet to Men Iron diſcover'd was,
But Arms, Tools, Houſes were compos'd of Braſs.

Whence it came to paſs, that after the World was acquainted with the uſe of Iron, the Artificers, and their occupation ſtill retain'd their old Names. Thus we are told by *Ariſtole* (d), that *Χαλκεὺς* denotes an Iron-Smith: And (to trouble you with no more Inſtances in a thing ſo commonly known) *Plutarch* (e) applies the word *ἐχαλκίſτατο* to the making of Iron Helmets.

Some of their Arms were compos'd of Tin, eſpecially their Boots; as we read of *Achilles's* in the eighteenth *Iliad*. This Metal was likewiſe frequently uſ'd in other parts of their Armour, as appears from *Agamemnon's* Breſt-plate (f), and *Aeneas's* Shield (g).

Several other Metals were made uſe of; Gold and Silver were in great eſteem among them, yet the moſt illuſtrious Hero's uſ'd them only as gracefull Ornaments; Thoſe that had their whole Armour compos'd of them, are uſually repreſented as more addiſted to effeminate and delicate Arts, than manly Courage, and Bravery. *Glaucus's* Arms were indeed made of Gold, but the great *Diomedes* was content with Braſs. *Amphimachus*, who enter'd into the War with Golden Weapons, is compar'd by *Homer* to a trim Virgin (h),

Νάειν, Αμφίμαχος τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ὅς κ' χρυσοῖν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἔιν, ἥντε κέρη,
Νήπιος, ἐδ' εἰ π' οἱ τό γ' ἐπῆρκεσε λυγρὸν ὀλεθρον,
ἀλλ' ἐδάμην ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδωκέος Διάκιδεο
ἐν ποταμῶ, χρυσοῖν δ' Ἀχελεύς ἐκόμισσε δαΐφρων.

(a) *Laconicis*. (b) *Theſeo*. (c) *Oper. & Dieb*. (d) *Poetica*. (e) *Camillo*, *ἐχαλκίſτατο* καὶ τὸν τοῖς πλείοις ὁμοτιθῆναι. (f) *Iliad*. x. (g) *Iliad*. v. (h) *Iliad*. 6. *prope finem*.

Trickt up in Arms of Gold for horrid War,
 Like some trim Girl, do's *Nomion's* son prepare,
 The vain *Amphimachus*; but not that show,
 Nor Pomp cou'd ward off the unerring blow,
 But by *Æacides* depriv'd of life,
 His Arms were seiz'd by the more skillfull Chief.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

In like manner the *Persians*, having given themselves over to soft-
 nesses and Pleasure, engag'd with the rough and sturdy *Grecians*,
 richly adorn'd with Gold and Jewels, and became an easy Prey
 into them. The *Grecian* Hero's, tho' not so unpolish'd, as to debar
 themselves the use of these Ornaments, yet were not so excessively pro-
 use of them, nor apply'd them to the same Ends and Purposes:
Achilles's Shield so curiously engrav'd by *Vulcan* is a Lecture of
 Philosophy, and contains a description of almost all the works of
 Nature. The Arms of other valiant Princes are frequently adorn'd
 with representations of their noble Exploits, the History of the
 Actions of their Ancestors, or Blessings receiv'd from the Gods;
 or fill'd with terrible Images of Lyons, or Dragons, and render'd
 bright and shining to strike terror and amazement into their Ene-
 mies, according to that of *Homer* (a);

ὄρε δὲ ἀμείδων
 Αὐγὴ χαλκείη

Th' amazing Lustre terrifi'd the fight.

So 'tis reported of our *British* Ancestors, that they painted them-
 selves with divers forms of Animals, thinking thereby to appear
 more terrible to their Enemies.

The ancient *Grecians* were always arm'd, thinking it unsafe to
 adventure themselves abroad without a sufficient defence against
 Aggressours. Hence *Aristotle* hath rationally infer'd, That they
 were a barbarous and unciviliz'd Nation: For being educated in
 the deepest Ignorance, and having very little sence of that Justice
 and Honesty, to which all Men are oblig'd by Nature's eternal
 and immutable Sanctions, being also in a great measure with-
 out the restraint of Human Laws, all Persons thought they had
 a just Title to whatever they could by any means take into pos-
 session, which they had no other method to secure, but that whereby
 they obtain'd it; and resign'd their claim, whenever a more po-
 tent Adversary exhibited his Pretensions. The Seas were fill'd
 with Pirates, the Land with Robbers, who made a prey of what

(a) *Iliad.* v.

ever came to their hands, and frequently made incursions into Countries, which they spoil'd and depopulated, and, if their Force was great enough, drove out the Inhabitants, and compell'd them to seek new Seats. By Men of this Profession *Jo, Europa, Gany-mede*, and many others were stol'n; which put *Tyndarus* into such a fear for his Daughter *Helen*, that he caus'd all the young Princes, that made their Addreses to her, to bind themselves by a solemn Oath to recover her, if ever she should be convey'd away. The Sea, we are inform'd by *Thucydides* (a), was free'd from Piracies by *Minos* King of *Crete*, who with a powerful Navy maintain'd for many years the sovereignty of it. But the Land was still infested, and therefore when *Theseus* design'd to make his first journey from *Trazen* to *Athens*, *Plutarch* tells us, That his Relations would have perswaded him to go by Sea; "For (says he) it was at that time very dangerous to travel by Land to *Athens*, no place of the Country being free from Thieves and Murderers: For that Age produc'd a sort of Men, for strength of Arms, swiftness of Feet, and vigour of Body excelling the ordinary rate of Men, and in Labours and Exercises indefatigable; yet making use of these Gifts of Nature to nothing good, or profitable to Mankind; but rejoicing, and taking pride in Insolence, and pleasing themselves in the Commission of barbarous and inhuman Cruelties, in seizing by force, whatever fell into their Hands, and practising upon strangers all manner of Outrages; who imagin'd that Covility, and Justice, and Equity, and Humanity, (which they thought were commended by many, either for want of Courage to commit Injuries, or Fear of receiving them) nothing at all to concern those, who were most daring, and strong (b). Of these indeed *Hercules* and *Theseus*, and other generous and publick-spirited Princes in a great measure free'd the Country: But before that, 'twas not to be wonder'd, if the *Grecians* always wore Arms, standing upon their guard, especially since in those Days few of them were united into large Towns, but liv'd retiredly in Country-seats, or at the best in small and defenceless Hamlets. This Custom was first laid aside at *Athens*, the occasion and necessity thereof being first remov'd in that City (c): For Historians generally agree, that the *Athenians* entertain'd the decent Rules of Civility and Humanity, were modell'd into a regular Form of Government, and enjoy'd the happiness of wholesom and usefull Laws before the rest of the *Grecians*.

Let us now return to the description of the *Grecian* Arms, which are distinguish'd into two sorts, some of them being contriv'd for their own Defence, others to annoy their Enemies. The primitive *Grecians*, we are told (d); were better furnish'd with the for-

(a) Lib. I. (b) *Plutarchus Theseo*. (c) *Thucydides* Lib. I. (d) *Euripidus Scholiast*.

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mer, whereas the Barbarians were more industrious in providing the latter: The Generals of these being most concern'd how to destroy their Enemies, whilst the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the Dictates of Human Nature to study how to preserve their Friends. For which reason *Homer* always takes care to introduce his brave and valiant Hero's well arm'd into the Battle, and the Grecian Law-givers decreed punishments for those that threw away their Shields, but excus'd those that lost their Swords, or Spears, intimating hereby, that their Souldiers ought to be more carefull to defend themselves, than to offend their Enemies (a).

First let us take account of their *Defensive Arms*, as fitted to the several members of the Body, beginning at the Head, which was guarded with an Helmet, call'd in Greek *ἡ κεφαλὴ αἰσά*, κράν^{ον}, κόρυς, &c. This was sometimes compos'd of Brass, or other Metals; as *Menelaus's* in *Homer*,

——— αὐτὰρ ὅτ' ἐπὶ σφάνῳ κεφαλῇσιν αἰσάσ
θήκετο χαλκείῳ ———

He put his Head-piece on, compos'd of Brass.

And very frequently of the Skins of Beasts, which gave occasion to those different appellations, deriv'd from the names of Animals, whereby it signify'd in *Homer*, as *ἱκπίση*, τούρειν, ἀλαπίδι, λεοντήν, αἰγείν, and others, of which none is more common than *κυνείν*, which was compos'd of a Dog's Skin; *Eustathius* tells us 'twas ποταμίου κύων, a Water-dog, and was so frequently us'd by the Ancients, that we find it sometimes taken for the Name of an Helmet, tho' consisting of another sort of Material: Thus *Homer* (b),

——— ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνέῳ κεφαλῇσιν ἔθηκε
ταυρεῖῳ ———

He put on's Helmet of a Bull's Hide made.

These Skins were always worn with their Hair on; and to render them more terrible and frightfull, the Teeth were frequently plac'd grinning on their Enemies. Thus the Souldier in *Virgil* (c),

*Ipsæ pedes regmen torquens immane leonis,
Terribili impexum sesâ cum dentibus albis,
Indutus capiti, sic regia telâ subibat.*

(a) *Plutarchus Pelopida.* (b) *Iliad. x.* (c) *Æneid. VII. v. 666.*

He shakes his Lyon's Skin, whose grisly Hair
And dreadfull Teeth create in all a Fear,
Thus having fortify'd his martial Head,
The Royal Roof he enters.

Homer likewise arms *Ulysses* in the same manner (a);

ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνέην καταλήφιν ἔθηκε
Πινῆ ποιντῶν, πολέσιν δ' ἔνταθεν ἰμάσιν
ἐντέτατο σφραγῶς, ἐκπέδε δ' αὖ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες
ἀργύροντες ὅς τε δαμνέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
εὖ καὶ ὀπίσσω, μέσση δ' ἐνὶ πῖλῳ ἀήρει.

His leathern Helmet on his Head he plac'd,
Whose inside with the strongest Thongs was lac'd;
But all the outward parts were fortify'd
With the white Teeth of Boars. —————

The fore-part of the Helmet was open, for the Hero's all enter'd
into the Battle with Faces uncover'd; To the side was fix'd a String,
whereby it was ty'd to the Warriour's Neck: This was term'd ὄχευς,
whence *Homer* speaks of *Paris* thus (b);

Ἀρχὴ δὲ μιν πολέκετος ἰμὸς ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ στερνῶν,
ὅς οἱ καὶ ἀνδρείωνος ὄχευς τέτατο τεφάλεϊς.

The well-wrought string, which ty'd his Helmet on
Under his Chin, now choak'd the Champion.

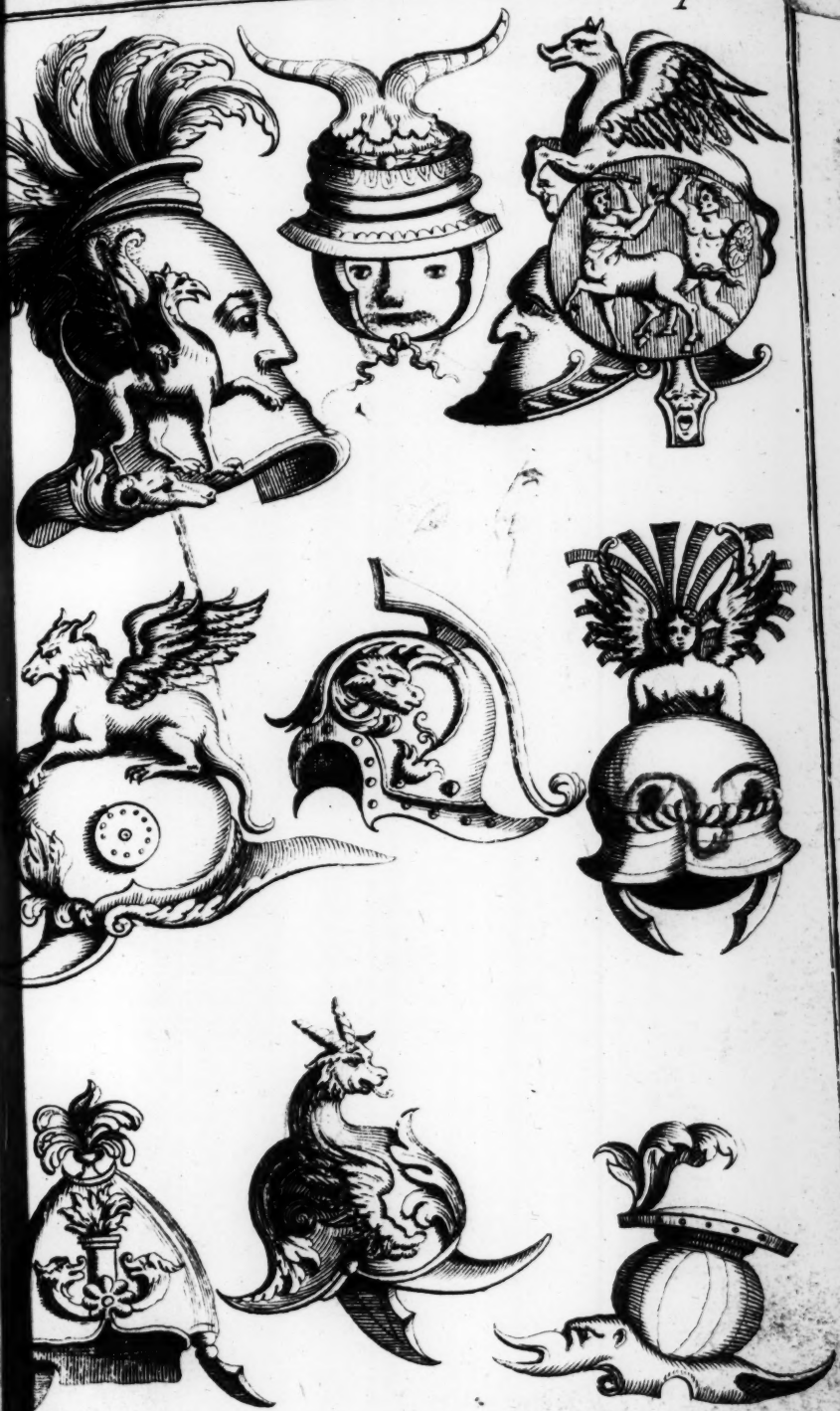
Some of its parts receive their names from the members guarded
by them, as ὀφθαλμῶν, that part which cover'd the *Eye-brows*, and the
rest in like manner. The little Lappet erected over the Brow
was by a Metaphorical term call'd γείσων, the pent-house. But
the most remarkable of all the parts in the Helmet was it's Crest,
term'd φάλξ, and λόφος (c), which was first us'd by the *Carians* (d),
and thence call'd by *Alcæus* κραικὸς λόφος,

Λόφον τε σείων Κραικόν,

Shaking his *Carian* Crest.

For the *Carians* were once famous for Military exploits, and ob-
lig'd the World with this, and several other Inventions; hence

(a) *Iliad*. x. v. 261. (b) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 371. (c) *Hesychius*, &c. (d) *Herodotus*
Clio, *Strabo* lib. XIV.



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we are told by *Thucydides* (a), that it was customary for them to repose a little Shield and an Helmet in the Graves of their Dead. Some will have *φάλαξ* to be distinguish'd from *λόφος*, that signifying the *Corn*, this the Plume fix'd to it (b), but others allow no difference between them. The former of these was compos'd of various materials, most of which were rich and chargeable, being design'd as an ornament to the Helmet. The other likewise was adorn'd with divers sorts of Paint; whence *Pollux* gives it the Epithets of *εὐανδῆς*, *ὑακινθινολαφῆς* (c). *Homer* has enrich'd it with Gold (d),

Τάξῃ δὲ οἱ κόρυδάς βεβαρὺν προτέρῃσι ἀγαυῆαν,
Καλῶ, δαυδαλέω, ὅτῃ δ' χρύσειον λόφον ἔκει.

A strong and trusty Helmet next he made
Which when he'd rightly seated on his Head,
The curious particolour'd Golden Crest
In beauteous form he o'er the Helmet plac'd.

Virgil's Hero has his whole Helmet of Gold, and his Crest painted with red (e),

————— *maculis quem Thracius albis*
Poriat equus, crissaque regit galea aurea rubra.

Streak'd with large spots of white the *Thracian Steed*
Carry'd the *Heroe*, who had arm'd his Head
With Golden Helmet, and Crest painted red.

The Crest was for the most part of Feathers, or the Hair of horses Tail, or Mains; whence we read of *λόφος ἱπποχάτης*, *κόρυς ἱπποδασεία*, *ἱππεύς*. Thus *Homer* (f);

————— ἥδ' ἀστὴρ ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν
ἱππεύς περὶ δάια, φεισσέοντο δ' ἔειπαι
Χρῦσαι, ὡς Ἡραϊδὸς ἱεὶ λόφον ἀμφὶ δαμειάς.

Like some bright Star the crested Helmet shone,
The guilded Hairs, which *Vulcan* round the Cone
Had plac'd, were all in sportfull order mov'd.

The common Souldiers had only small Crests; the great Officers, and all persons of Quality were distinguish'd by Plumes of a larger size; and frequently took a pride in wearing two, three, or

(a) Lib. I. (b) *Suidas*, &c. (c) Lib. I. cap. X. (d) *Iliad*. v. 610. (e) *Virg.* *neid.* IX. 49. (f) *Iliad*. v. 382.

four together. *Suidas* will have *Geryon* to have been famous in Poetry for three Heads, on no other account, but because his Helmet was adorn'd with three Crests. *Virgil* describes *Turnus's* Head-piece after the same manner (a), adding also to it the figure of a *Chimæra*,

*Cui triplici crinita juba galea alia Chimæram
Sustinet* ———

Whose triple-crested Helmet did sustain
A terrible *Chimæra*.

This Helmet was call'd *τρυφάλεια*; when it was surrounded with Plumes, *ἀμφοίφαλον*; and when adorn'd with four, *τιτράφαλον*; Thus *Apollonius* (b),

Τιτράφαλον φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπετο πῆληξ.

A four-fold Plume with dazzling lustre shone,
Whose nodding Top o'erlook'd the dreadful Cone.

The design of these was to strike terrour into the Enemies; whence that of *Homer* (c),

——— *δεινὸν ὃ λόφος καὶ δούπερδ' ἐνδεν.*

For the same reason *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, beside a lofty Crest, wore Goat's horns upon his Helmet (d). We are told indeed by *Suidas*, that the *τείχῳσι*, or Crest it self was sometimes term'd *κέρα*. Nevertheless some of the ancient Helmets had no Crest, or Cone at all. This sort was call'd *κατῷπυξ*, as we learn from *Homer* (e),

——— *ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε*

*Ταυροῖῳ, ἄφαλον τε, καὶ ἄλοφον, ἢ τε κατῷπυξ
Κέκληται.* ———

His Bull-skin Helmet on his Head he plac'd,
Κατῷπυξ call'd, 'cause without Cone, or Crest.

Other sorts of ornaments were us'd in Helmets, as in that call'd *σεράνη*, which name signifies the ridge of a Mountain, and on that account is apply'd to Helmets having several *ἑξοχαί*, emi-

(a) *Æneid*, VII. v. 785. (b) *Lib*. III. (c) *Iliad*. III. (d) *Plutarchus* *Pyrrho*. (e) *Iliad*. x.

nencies, or parts jutting out (a). *Homer* has taken notice of this sort also (b),

— ἐδὲ σερᾶνν δόρυ οἱ γέδε χαλκοδάρεα.

Nor cou'd his Helmet made of solid Brass
Ward off the Blow.—

Of all the *Grecian* Helmets the *Boeotian* is said to have been the best (c). The *Macedonians* had a peculiar one term'd *καυσίη*, which was compos'd of Hides, and serv'd instead of a Cap to defend them from the cold; according to the Epigram in *Suidas*,

Καυσίη, ἢ τοπάριδε Μακεδόσιν εὐκόλον ὄπλον,
Καὶ σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ, καὶ κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ.

Were I to chuse what Armour I wou'd have,
No Helmet forg'd in brawny Vulcan's Cave,
Nor Bear's, or Lyon's grizly Skin I'd crave;
But an old broad-brim'd *Macedonian* Cap,
Whose spacious sides shou'd round my Shoulders wrap.
Thus all Attacks with greatest ease I'd bear,
As well the Storms of Weather, as of War.

Mr. *Hutchins*.

Pliny attributes the first Invention of Helmets to the *Lacedemonians* (d), as likewise of the Sword, and Spear: But this must be understood only of the peculiar Sorts of those Weapons us'd at *Sparta*; other kinds of them being known before the first Foundation of the *Spartan* Government, or Nation.

The Heroes took great pride in wearing for their defence the Skins of wild Beasts, which they esteem'd as Badges of their Prowess. Instances of this kind are every where to be met with in the Poets. Hence *Theocritus* (e),

Αὐτὰρ ὡς νώτοις, καὶ αἰχένῳ ἠαρεῖτο
Λύκων δῖρμα λέοντος ἀφρημυδὸν ἐκ ποδῶνων.

Over his neck and back a Lyon's Skin was thrown
Held up by 't's Feet.

Hercules's Lyon's Skin is very famous in story, and *Homer's* great Princes are frequently introduc'd in the same Habit; in imitation of whom the other *Greek*, and *Latin* Poets have arm'd their Heroes. Thus *Aeetes* in *Virgil* (f),

(a) *Hesiodus*. (b) *Iliad*. x. v. 96. (c) *Pollux* lib. I. cap. X. (d) *Lib* VII. cap LVI. (e) *Διοσκύριος*. (f) *Aeneid*. V. v. 36.

——— occurrat Acestes
Horridus in jaculis, & pelle Libyftidos uſe.
Aceſtes dreadful for his horrid Darts,
 And for the *Libyan* Bear-skin that he wears,
 Met them. ———

But we find they were not aſham'd of uſing better and ſtronger Armour for their defence; the ordinary ſorts of which were theſe that follow:

Μίτρη, made of Braſs, but lin'd with Wool, and worn next to the Skin, underneath the Coat of Mail. This we learn from *Homer* ſpeaking of a Dart that pierc'd thro' the reſt of the Hero's Armour, but was ſo blunted by the *μίτρη* (a), that it only raſ'd his Skin,

Αὐτὴ δ' αὐτ' ἵδμεν ὅτι ζωῆρης ὄχμης
 Χρύσειοι σῶντον, καὶ διπλὸς ἦν τε το δάρεξ,
 Ἐν δ' ἔπι σφωῆται ἀρεῖ πικρὸς οἶσός.
 Διὰ μὲν αὖ ζωῆρης ἐλίλατο δαυδαλόιο,
 Καὶ δὲ δάρηκος πολυδαυδάλα κήρυττο,
 Μίτρης θ', ὡς ἐρέει ἔρυμα χροῖς, ἔρκος ἀκόντων,
 Ἡ οἱ πλείστον ἔρυτο. ———

She to that part the deadly Shaft convey'd,
 Where meeting Clasp'd a double Breast-plate made;
 Straight on his Belt it fell, nor there cou'd stay,
 But thro' both Belt and Breast-plate forc'd it's way,
 And now his laſt beſt hopes, the well-lin'd Braſs,
 Which againſt Darts his ſureſt refuge was,
 It raſ'd, but cou'd not thro' it make a perfect Paſs.

Mr. Hutchin.

Ζῶμα, or *ζωήρ*, reach'd from the Knees to the Belly, where it was joyn'd to the Brigandine (b). But the latter of theſe names is more frequently taken for the Belt ſurrounding the reſt of the Armour. Thus *Homer* (c);

Λύσε δὲ οἱ ζωῆρα παναίολον, ἥ δ' ἐπένερθε
 Ζῶμά τε, καὶ μίτρη, ὡς χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες.

His rich embroider'd Belt he then unbrac'd,
 And all his Armour underneath it plac'd,
 Which by the hands of ſkillfull Smiths was made.

(a) *Iliad*. 9. & *Eustathius* ibid p 345. Edit. Baſil. (b) *Eustathius* ibid.
 (c) *Iliad*. 9.

This was so essential to a Warriour, that ζώννυται came to be a general name for putting on Armour (a): Whence *Homer* introduces *Agamemnon* commanding the *Grecians* to arm themselves thus (b),

Ατρείδης δὲ βόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώννυται ἀνῶγεν.

Atreides straight commands them all to arm.

The same Poet, when he makes that Hero resemble the God of War in his ζώνη, is suppos'd (as *Pausanias* (c) tells us) to mean his whole Armour. The *Romans* had the same custom, as appears from *Plutarch* (d); And it prevail'd also amongst the *Persians*; whence *Herodotus* relates, how *Xerxes* having reach'd *Abdera*, when he fled from *Athens*, and thinking himself out of danger, did λύνει τὴν ζώνην, or disarm himself (e). But ζώνη is a more general name than ζώνηρ, and signifies the μίτην.

Θώραξ consisted of two parts, one of which was a defence to the Back, the other to the Belly; the extreme parts of it were term'd πτέρυγες, the middle γύαλα (f). The sides were coupled together with a sort of Buttons (g). The same may be observ'd in *Silius* (h) of the *Roman lorica*, which differ'd not much from the *Grecian Thorax*, whence Θώραξ is by *Hesychius* expounded λείκιον. The Poet's words are these,

—qua fibula morsus
Lorica crebro laxata resolverat ictu.

ἡμιθώρακιον was an half-thorax, or Breast-plate; which *Pollux* tells us was first invented by *Jason*: and we find it very much esteem'd by *Alexander*, who, as *Polyænus* (i) reports, considering that the entire Θώραξ might be a temptation to his Souldiers to turn their backs upon their Enemies, those being equally guarded by it with their Breasts, commanded them to lay aside their Back-pieces, and arm themselves with ἡμιθώρακια, Breast-plates; that so whenever they were put to flight, their Backs might be expos'd naked to their Enemies. The *Thoraces* were not always compos'd of the same stuff; some were made of *Line*, or *Hemp* twisted into small Cords, and close set together, whence we read of *thoraces bilices*, and *trilices*, from the number of Cords fix'd one

(a) *Pausanias* *Boeoticis*. (b) *Iliad* κ'. (c) *Loco citato*. (d) *Coriolanus*. (e) *Urania*, cap. CXX. (f) *Pollux*, *Pausanias* *Atticis*. (g) *Pausanias* *ibid.* (h) *Lib. VII.* (i) *Strateg.* lib. IV.

upon another. These were frequently us'd in Hunting, because the Teeth of Lyons, and other wild Beasts were unable to pierce thro' them, sticking in the Cords; but not so often carry'd into Battels, as *Pausanias* observes (a); Yet there are not wanting Instances of this sort, for *Ajax* the son of *Oileus* has the Epithet of λινοθώραξ in *Homer* (b),

— — — — — ὀλίγος ᾧ ἔλω λινοθώραξ. — — — — —

Ajax the less a Linnen Breast-plate had.

Alexander likewise is reported by *Plutarch* to have worn θώραξ διπλῶν, or a double-twisted thorax: And *Iphicrates* caus'd his Souldiers to lay aside their heavy and unwieldy Brigandines of Iron, and go to the Field in Hempen Armour, as *Cornelius Nepos* hath inform'd us in his Life of that Captain. The ordinary matter the *Thoraces* were made of, was Brass, Iron, or other Metals, which were sometimes so exquisitely harden'd, as to be proof against the greatest force: *Plutarch* (c) reports that *Zoilus* an Artificer having made a present of two Iron Brigandines to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, for an experiment of their Hardness, caus'd an Arrow to be shot out of an Engine call'd *Catapulta* plac'd about twenty-six paces off, which was so far from piercing the Iron, that it scarcely ras'd, or made the least impression on it. This Armour was of two sorts; one of which, because it consisted of one, or two continu'd pieces of Metal, and was inflexible, and able to stand upright, was term'd θώραξ σάδιος, or σάτις (d). Another was compos'd of a Beast's Hide, according to the Poet,

— — — — — τῷ δὲ θώρακος σκύτει.

Whence the *Latin* word *lorica* is thought to be deriv'd from *lorum*. This was set with plates of Metal cast into various forms; sometimes into hooks, or Rings, not unlike a Chain; sometimes resembling Feathers, or the Scales of Serpents, or Fishes; to which Plates or Studs of Gold were often added: Whence we read of θώρακες ἀλυσιδωτοί, λεπιδωτοί, φολιδωτοί, &c. And the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets frequently mention them. Thus *Silius* (e), speaking of the Consul *Flaminius*;

*Loricam induitur, tortos huic nexilis hamos
Ferro squama rudi, permixtoque asperas auro.*

(a) *Atticis*. (b) *Iliad*. c. (c) *Demetrio*. (d) *Enfathius*. (e) *Lib* V.

Virgil arms his Heroes after the same manner (a);

——— Rutulum thoraca indutus, aënis
Horrebat squamis ———

Drest in his glitt'ring Breast-piece, he appear'd
Frightfull with Scales of Brās.

The single Plates being sometimes pierc'd thro' by Spears, and missile Weapons, it was customary to strengthen them by setting two, three, or more, upon one another; Thus Statius (b),

——— ter insiso servant ingentia ferro
Pectora ———

With triple Plates of Iron they defend
Their Breasts.

And in another place (c),

Multiplicem tenues iterant thoraca catene.

The little Chains a mighty Breast-plate joyn.

Whence in the same manner as from the number of Cords, they were term'd bilices, and trilices; in Greek, διπλοῖ & τετπλοῖ. Virgil (d),

Loricam confertam hamis, astroque trilicem.

The three-fold Coat of Mail beset with Hooks and Gold.

Κνημῖδες, Ορεα, were Greaves of Brās, Copper, or other Metal, which they wore upon their Legs. Whence Hesiod (e),

——— κνημῖδας δειχάλλοιο φαινῶ,
Ἡφαίστου κλυτὰ δῶρα, πῶς κνήμησιν ἔθηκεν.

The Greaves of shining Brās, which Vulcan gave,
He round his Ancles plac'd. ———

Homer frequently composeth them of Tin (f);

(a) *Æneid.* XI. (b) *Theb.* VII. (c) *Theb.* XII. (d) *Æneid.* III. 467.
(e) *Scuto.* (f) *Iliad.* c. v. 612.

Τεῦξε δὲ οἱ κνημῖδας ἐὰν ἔκασσι τέργιο.

He made his Greaves of beaten Tin.

The Sides were generally clos'd about the Ancles with Buttons, which were sometimes of solid Gold, or Silver, as we have it in the same Poet (a);

Κνημῖδας μὲν περὶ ταῖς κνήμησιν ἔθηκε
Καλὰς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπὶ σφυραίοις ἀραρήας.

The curious Greaves he round his Ancles clos'd
With Silver Buttons.

It is probable, that this piece of Armour, was at first either peculiar to the *Grecians*, or at least more generally us'd by them than other Nations; because we find them so perpetually call'd by the Poet,

————— εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.

Χεῖρες were Guards for their Hands, which we find also to have been us'd by some of them, with other Defences for their Arms.

Ασπίς was a Buckler compos'd sometimes of Wickers woven together, according to *Virgil* (b);

————— *flectuntque salignas*
Vmbonum crates —————

The Bucklers they of Osiers make.

Whence it is term'd *ἑτέρα* (c). It was likewise of Wood; and because it was expedient that the Warriours should be able with the greatest ease to wield it, they usually chose the lightest sort of Wood for this use, such are the Figg, Willow, Beech, Poplar, Elder-trees, &c. as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (d). But it was commonly made of Hides; whence we find so frequent mention of *κναιδὶς βόρια*. These were doubled into several Folds, and fortify'd with Plates of Metal. *Ajax's* Buckler was compos'd of seven Folds of Hide, and cover'd with a single Plate of Brass, as we read in *Homer* (e);

(a) *Iliad*. γ' v. 330. (b) *Æneid*. VII. 632. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) *Nat. Hist.* lib. VI. cap. XL. (e) *Iliad*. γ' v. 222.

——— σάκος αἰόλον ἐπ' αἰθέριον

Ταύρων ζατρεφών, ὅτι δ' ὄγδον ἥλασε χαλκόν.

Made of the Hides of seven well fatt'd Bulls,
And cover'd with a Plate of Brass.

Achilles's was guarded with three Folds more, as the Poet tells us,

——— ὅς αἰ, ὅς proxima rupit

Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

It pierc'd the Brass, and thro' nine Hides it broke;
But could not penetrate the tenth.

But the same Hero's in *Homer* was more strongly fortify'd by
two Plates of Brass, two of Tin, and a fifth of Gold (a);

——— πέντε πύχας ἥλασε κυκλοποδίων,

Τὰς δύο χαλκείας, δύο δ' ἐνδοθι χρυστέρεοι,

Τὴν ὅμιαν, χρυσίῳ. ———

For with five Plates *Vulcan* it fortify'd,
With two of Brass, two Tin, and one of Gold.

The principal parts of the Buckler were these:

Ἀνύξ, ἴπυς, πεφύρενα, or κύκλος, the outmost Round, or Circumference.

Ομφαλὸς, and μεταμφάλιον, in *Latin* *umbo*, a Boss jutting out in the middle of the Buckler, upon which was fix'd another protuberant part term'd ἐπομφάλιον. It was of great service to them, not only in glancing off, and repelling missive Weapons, but in bearing down their Enemies themselves: Whence *Marial* has this allusion,

In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repelles.

Shou'd you be in a Croud, your Slave
Wou'd with his Boss repell them all.

Τελαμὼν was a Thong of Leather, and sometimes a Rod of Metal, reaching cross the Buckler, whereby they hung it upon their Shoulders, according to the primitive Fashion (b): Whence *Homer* (c),

(a) *Iliad* v. 270. (b) *Eustathius Iliad* c. p. 184. Edit. Basil. (c) *Iliad* p.

—— αὐτὰρ ἅπ' ὤμων

Ἀπὸς οὐ το τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πῖσε τερμύεσσι.

Down from his Shoulders the huge Buckler fell
With it's loos'd Thong.

It was sometimes call'd κανὼν, except this may be understood of the Rod, to which the τελαμῶν was fasten'd, as *Hesychius* expounds it, which seems most probable, and that κανόνες were Rods, whereby the Bucklers were held, (as *Homer's Scholiast* reports) but τελαμῶνες, the Thongs affix'd to them, and hung upon the Warrior's Shoulders, tho' *Eustathius* will have them to have been put to the former use, and to be the same with κανόνες (a). Sometimes the Bucklers were held by little Rings call'd πύργαι; But at length most of the *Grecians* us'd an Handle call'd ὄχανον, or ὄχανη, which tho' sometimes spoken of with the former names, and explain'd by them, was really different from both, being invented by the *Carians* (b), and, as 'tis commonly thought, compos'd for the most part of small Iron Barrs, plac'd cross each other, and resembling the letter χ (c). When the Wars were concluded, and the Bucklers, (as was customary) hung up in the Temples of the Gods, they took off the Handles, thereby to render them unfit to serve in any sudden Insurrection: Whence the Poet introduces a Person affrighted, when he saw them hanging up with Handles,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσιν γὰρ πύργαις.

O sad! The Bucklers Handles have.

Which another had also found fault with a little before;

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἰ περ φιλεῖς ἧμιν, ἐκ προνοίας
Ταύτας εἶναι αὐτοῖς τοῖς πύργαισιν ἀνατιδύσαι.

Æschylus speaks of little Bells hung upon Bucklers to strike Terror into the Enemy,

—— ὥσ' ἀπιδδὲς ὅ τ' ἔρ

Χαλκήλατοι πλάγ' ἔστι κώδωνες φόβῳ.

Most of the Bucklers were curiously adorn'd, having engraven in them all sorts of Figures of Birds, and Beasts, especially such as were of generous Natures, as Eagles, Lyons, &c. Nor of these

(a) *Loco citato.* (b) *Etymologici Auctor, Homeri Scholiastes, &c.* (c) *Eustathii loco citato.*

only, but of the Gods, of the Celestial Bodies, and all the Works of Nature: which Custom was deriv'd from the Heroick Ages, and continu'd in later Times, being (as *Herodotus* (a) reports) first introduc'd by the *Carians*, and from them communicated to the *Grecians*, *Romans*, and *Barbarians*.

The *Grecians* had several sorts of Bucklers, the most remarkable of which seem to have been those of *Argos*, which are thought to be bigger than the rest, whence *Virgil* compares to them *Polyphemus's* monstrous Eye, which he tells us was (b),

Argolici clypei, aut Phœbææ lampadis instar.

Like an *Argolick* Buckler, or the Sun.

Most indeed of the ancient Bucklers seem to have cover'd the whole Body, whence *Virgil* (c),

— *clypeique sub orbe teguntur.*

Under their Bucklers cover'd close they stand.

Virgil enumerates the Members protected thereby,

*Μυρῆς τε, κνήμας τε χάρτω, καὶ στήνα, καὶ ὤμους
Ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενοι.*

Thighs, Legs, and Breast, Belly, and Shoulders too
The mighty Buckler cover'd.

This farther appears from the Custom of carrying dead Souldiers out of the Field upon their Bucklers; whence we read of the famous Command of the *Spartan* Mothers to their Sons, *ἢ τὸν, ἢ τὴν*, i. e. Either bring this, (meaning the Buckler,) or be brought upon it; meaning they should either secure their Bucklers, or loose their Lives in defending them (d). And *Homer*, for the same reason calls them *ἀσπίδας ἀμφιέροτας*, and *ποδωκεῖς*, which *Eustathius* interprets *ἀνδρομήκεες*, i. e. of the same size with a Man (e).

Their Form was usually round, whence *Virgil's* *clypei orbis*, and the frequent Mention of *ἀσπίδες οὐκυκλοι, πάντοτε ἴσαι*, &c. Hence it's outmost Circumference was call'd *κύκλος*, as hath been already observ'd.

There were likewise Shields of lesser Sizes, and other Forms, the use of several of which came into Fashion after the Heroick Ages.

(a) Lib. I. (b) *Aeneid*. III. (c) *Aeneid*. II. (d) *Polyarchus* Apophthegm. conis. (e) *Iliad*. γ'.

Γέγρον, or γέγρα, was squar'd, like the Figure *rhombus*, and first us'd by the *Persians* (a).

Ουρεός was oblong, and usually bending inward: It seems to have been the same, which is call'd in *Pollux* (b) *οἰαῖς κοίλη ἐτερομήκης*.

Λαισήιον seems to have been shap'd like the former, and composed of Hides with the Hair, whence *Grammarians* derive it from *λάσιον*, i.e. hairy. It was very light, whence (as *Eustathius* (c) observes) *Homer* gives it the Epithet *πύρρον*,

βροίας
Λασιῶν σκύλας, λαισήια τε πύρρην τε.

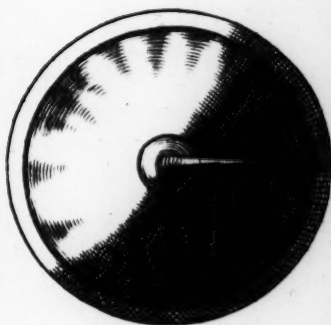
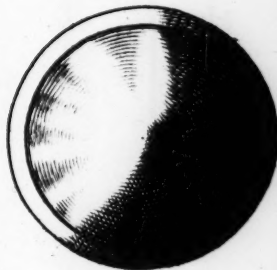
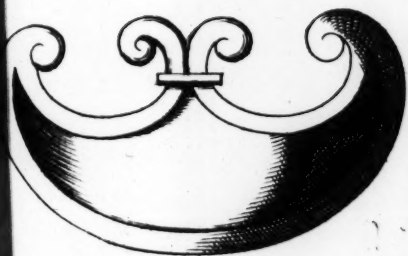
Πέλτη was a small and light Buckler in the Form of an Half moon (d), or, according to *Xenophon*, resembling an Ivy-leaf, and first us'd by the *Amazons*. But *Suidas* will have it to be a kind of four-square Buckler, wanting the *ἴνυς*, or exterior Ring.

This was the chief of all their Arms: The Regard they had to it appears both from what has been already observ'd concerning their Care in adorning, and preserving it; and from the common Story of *Epaminondas*, who having receiv'd a mortal Wound, and lying under the Agonies of Death, with great Concern enquir'd whether his Buckler was safe (e). *Chabrias* the famous *Athenian*, when his Ship was sunk, rather chose honourably to resign his Life with his Buckler, than leaving it, to escape to another Vessel (f). Military Glory indeed being esteem'd the greatest that Human Nature was capable of, they had a profound Regard for all sorts of Arms, which were the Instruments, whereby they attain'd it; whence to leave them to their Enemies, to give them for a Pledge, or dispose of them any dishonourable Way, was an eternal Disgrace both in *Greece* (g), and at *Rome*, and scarce ever to be wip'd off, or aton'd for.

Thus have I endeavour'd to give you a Description of the principal of the *Grecian Defensive Arms*, which are in general term'd *ἀλξινθία, σκινθία, φυλακθία, and προβλήματα*.

The only *Offensive Arms* us'd by the Ancients, were Stones, or Clubs, and such as rude Nature furnish'd them with. They were wholly ignorant of all those Arts, and Contrivances to destroy their Enemies, which Necessity, and Thirst of Glory afterwards

(a) *Strabo* lib. XV. (b) *Lib. I. cap. X.* (c) *Iliad. c. p. 433 Ed. Basil.* (d) *Isidorus Hispal. Origin. lib. XVIII.* (e) *Ammianus lib. XXV.* (f) *Emilius Probus in Chabrias.* (g) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Plauto.*



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introduc'd into the World: Thus *Horace* describes the Fights of those wild and uncultivated Ages,

*Unguibus & pugnis, dein fistibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus.*

Sharp Nails, and Fists, the only first Arms were,
Then Clubs came into use, next Men took care
To make more hurtfull Weapons.

Lucretius hath an elegant Passage to the same purpose (a);

*Arma antiqua manus, ungues, dentesque fuere,
Et lapides, & item silvarum frægmina, rami,
Et flammæque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum,
Posterior ferri vis est, ærisque iuxta;
Sed prius æris erit quam ferri cognitus usus.*

In the first Ages Nails, Hands, Teeth won'd please
A Combatant for Arms, and Boughs of Trees,
Or Stones, or flaming Brands with Anger thrown,
Were then the best, and chiefest Weapons known;
Men afterwards in Mischief wiser far
Us'd Iron, and Brazen Arms in ev'ry War.
Of these Brads first began to kill.

Mr. Dechair.

Their Clubs were call'd *φάλαγγες* and *φάλαγγια*, whence *Grammarians* conjecture that Squadrons of Souldiers were term'd *φάλαγγες*, and by the *Latins* *phalanges*, from the primitive Way of Fighting (b).

The principal of their Offensive Weapons in later Ages was *ἔγχος* and *δῆρυ*, Spear, or Pike, the Body of which was compos'd of Wood, in the Heroick Times most commonly of Ash, whence we have so frequent mention in *Homer* of *μῆλιν*, as when he speaks of *Achilles's* Spear (c);

*Πηλιάδα μῆλιν, ἃ πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρε Χείρων
Πηλὶ ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσι.*

The Ashen Spear for Murder then design'd,
When to his Father with a cruell Mind
Old *Chiron* gave it.

The *Trojans* were likewise arm'd from the same Tree (d);

(a) Lib. V. (b) *Eustathius* *Iliad.* 8. p. 357. Ed. Basil. &c. (c) *Iliad.* 8. v. 143. (d) *Iliad.* 8. 47.

Καὶ Πείαμος, καὶ λαὸς ὑμμελίων Πειάμοιο.

The Head, αἶχμη, was of Metal. So was also the *σφυρωτήρ*, which is so call'd either q. *σφυρωτήρ*, from *σφυρῆς*, a Crofs; or from *σαῦρῆς*, a Lizard, which it is said to have resembled, being hollow at one End, where it was fix'd into the Bottom of the Spear; and sharp at the other, (a), which being thrust into the Ground upheld the Spear erect, when the Souldiers rested from the Toil of War. Whence *Homer*, speaking of *Diomedes's* Followers (b);

— ἀμφὶ δ' ἐπαῖεσι
Εὐδὸν, ὑπὸ κρασὶν δ' ἔην ἀσπίδας, ἔγχεα δὲ σπιν
Ὀρδ' ὅππ' σφυρωτήερος ἐπ' ἔστατο. —

Sleeping about him all his Men they found,
Under their Heads were laid along the Ground
Great Shields, their Spears erected upright stood
Upon their Brazen Points.

Aristotle observes that the same Custom was practis'd amongst the *Illyrians* in his Days (c). And it seems to have been common in other Nations, as may appear from the first Book of *Samuel* (d), where *Saul* is said to have slept with his Spear fix'd in the Earth close by his Head. In Times of Peace they rear'd their Spears against Pillars, in a long wooden Case call'd *δυσέρδκις*, as we have it in *Homer* (e);

Ἐγχος ὃ μ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν
Δυσέρδκις ἐντοδεν ἐϋξέου —

Against a Pillar in a well-made Case
He hung his Spear.

Virgil speaks something to the same purpose (f),

*Exin, quæ in medijs ingenti adnixa columæ
Ædibus astant, validam vi corripit hastam.*

Straight he pulls down with all the Force he cou'd,
A Spear, that in the Middle of the House
Was rear'd against a mighty Pillar.

(a) *Eustathius*, *Pollux*, lib. I. cap. V. (b) *Iliad*. κ'. v. 151. (c) *De Arte Poetica*. (d) *Cap. XXVI*. v. 7. (e) *Odysf.* α'. (f) *Æneid*. XII. v. 92.

Of these there were two Sorts, as *Strabo* hath well observ'd (a); The former was us'd in close Fight, and call'd *δύρου ὀρεκτὸν*, for the Use, and excellent Management of which the *Abantes* are celebrated in *Homer* (b);

Τῷ δ' ἄμ' Ἀβάντες ἔποντο δοῖ, ὅππῃ κομίωντες,
Αἰχμηταὶ μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῇσι μελήσιν
Θάρσας ῥύξεν δῖόν αὐ μὲν σῆδεσσιν.

The *Abants* follow'd him, whose Bushy Hair
Lies thick behind, *Abants*, who never fear
Close fights, but bravely strike the Breast-plates through
With Alhen Spears.

Where you may observe the Signification of the Word *ὀρέζασθαι*, which (as the *Scholiast* hath observ'd) is apply'd to Arms us'd in in close Fight; whereas *πάλλειν* belongs rather to mislive Weapons, which are call'd by the general Names of *παλτα*, and *βέλη*, of which Kind was the other sort of Spears; Whence we find one making this Boast,

Δαεὶ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον ἐκ ἄλλου πρὸς ὕψος.

I strike as far with a Spear, as another with an Arrow.

This was frequently us'd in the Heroick Duels, where the Combatants first threw their Spears, and then fell to their Swords. Thus *Heftor* and *Achilles* (c), *Menelaus* and *Paris* (d), and the rest of the Heroes attack one another. *Theocritus* hath describ'd the Combat of *Castor* and *Lyncus* after the same Manner (e);

Εγχεσι μὲν πρῶτα πτυσκόμῃσι πόνον εἶχον,
Ἀλλήλων εἴπερ τὴν χερὸς θυμωθέν ἴδοιεν.
Αἰλ' ἥτοι τὰ μὲν ἄκρα, πάρος πινὰ δηλήσασθαι,
Δῆρ' ἐάγη, σακέεσσι ἐνὶ δεινοῖσι παλόντα.
Τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἐκ κολεοῖιν ἐρυσσαμύρῳ, φόρον αὖθις
Τεῦχον ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, μάχης δ' ἐξίνατ' ἐρώη.

First with their Spears began the noble Strife,
Each sought to find an open Pass to Life;
But all in vain, the Shields the Stroakes endur'd,

(a) Lib. X. (b) *Iliad*. C. v. 543. (c) *Iliad*. x. (d) *Iliad*. γ. (e) *Idyll*. x. v. 187.

Their Spears were broken, and the Men secur'd,
 Their Swords they drew, the Blades like Lightning shone
 Before the Thunderbolt falls swiftly down,
 Now rose their Fury.

Mr. Creech.

The *Macedonians* had a peculiar sort of Spear call'd *πέριστα*, which was fourteen or sixteen Cubits in Length.

Ξίφος, a Sword, which, according to ancient Custom, was hung in a Belt put round the Shoulders. Whence *Homer* (a);

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον.

His Silver-hilted Sword about his Shoulders hung.

Hesiod, and the rest of the Poets mention the same Custom (b);

Ὀμοισιν δέ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ ἔκειτο
 Χάλκεον ἐκ τελαμῶνος. ———

————— A Brazen Sword
 Plac'd in the Belt, down from his Shoulders hung.

The Belt reach'd down to their Thighs. Whence *Homer's* *Hero* (c);

————— φάσγανον δ' ἐξ ἐρυσσάμηνος παρὰ μηρῶ.

Straight from his Thigh his Sword he draws.

And *Virgil's* *Aeneas* (d);

————— *ocyns ensem*
Eripit à femore. ———

It may be enquir'd whether the Sword was hung upon the right Side, or the left; to which some will reply, That Foot-souldiers wore it on the left, Horse-men on the right; and *Josephus* (e) expressly mentions Horse-men with their Swords on their right Sides: But whether this was constantly observ'd, or frequently vary'd, as *Lipsius* (f) has observ'd of the *Roman* Sword, cannot easily be determin'd. The Scabbard was call'd *κολιός*, close to it was hung a Dagger, or Ponyard, call'd *τὸ παρὰ μη-*

(a) *Iliad* C'. (b) *Scuto* *Herculis*. (c) *Odyss.* λ'. (d) *Aeneid.* X. v. 786. (e) *Excidii Hierosolym.* lib. III. (f) *Militia Romana.*

εν, *ῥαμῆιον*, or *παρζώνιον* *ξιφίδιον*, according to *Eustathius* (a), *ῥαξιφίδιον*, or *ἔγχειδιον*, and in *Homer* *μάχαιρα*. It was seldom us'd in Fight, but on all Occasions supply'd the want of a Knife, as appears from the Poet, out of whom I will give you this one Instance (b);

Ατρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσάμενος χεῖρεσσι μάχαιραν,
 Ἡ οἱ παρ' ἑίφους μέγα καλὸν αἶν' ἄορτο,
 Ἀργῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τεύχεας. —

Drawing his Dagger, which was alwaies put
 Close by his Sword, *Atrides* straightway cut
 Some Hairs from the Lambs Heads.

Possidonius in *Atheniens* tells us, The same Custom was practis'd by the ancient *Gauls* (c). Close by this, or rather instead thereof, the Souldiers of lower Ages us'd a Dagger call'd *ἀκινάκης*, which was borrow'd from the *Persians* (d). They had sometimes another Sword call'd *κοπίς*, which was the same with the *Roman ensis falcatus*, and our *Fauchion*, or *Scimeter*; and was chiefly us'd by the Inhabitants of *Argos*. Not much unlike this were the *Lacedemonian* Swords, call'd, according to *Pollux*, *ξύιναι*, but, as *Xenophon*, *ξύηλαι*, and, by the *Athenians*, *κνήστις* (e): They were bent *Fauchion*-like, and in Length far less than those commonly us'd in other Parts of Greece; The Reason of which Custom being demanded of *Antalcidas*; 'Tis (said he) *because we encounter our Enemies hand to hand* (f): And when another Person told *Agésilas* in Derision, That a Jugler on a Stage would make nothing of swallowing their Swords: *Well* (reply'd the King) *yet with these little Weapons we are able to reach our Enemies* (g). The only thing farther remarkable in the old *Grecian* Sword is the Hilt, which they took a great Pride in adorning, not so much with Silver, and Gold, and precious Stones, as with Figures of Lyons Heads, &c. to make them appear more terrible to their Enemies.

Ἀξίνη, a sort of Polax: With this Weapon *Agamemnon* was encounter'd by *Pisander* in *Homer* (h);

— ὁ δ' ὦ' ἀπώιδος εἶλετο χαλῶ
 Ἀξίνῃ ἐὺχαλκον, ἐλαΐνῃ ἀμφὶ πελέκῃ,
 Μαικρῷ, ἐὺξέσῳ. —

(a) *Iliad* γ'. (b) *Iliad* γ'. (c) *Διππτοφ* lib XIV. (d) *Moschopulus* in *vocibus Atticis*, *Pollux*, &c. (e) *Suidas*, *Eustathius* *Iliad* α'. *Hesychius*, &c. (f) *Plutarchus* *Apophthegm*. (g) *Idem* loc. citat. & *Lycurgo*. (h) *Iliad* δ'. v. 611.

The other from his Buckler straightway drew
A curious Brazen Ax, whose Handle few
Cou'd match for Length, for Olive; or for Work.

Πέλεκος, was not much different from the former, and is joyn'd with it in *Homer* (a);

Αλλ' οἱ γ' ἐβύβαν ἰσάμενοι, ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
Οἷστο δὴ πηλέεσσι, καὶ ἀξίνῃσι μάχοντο.

Both Parties fighting close together stood,
And unconcern'd alike for Loss of Blood,
Axes and Hatchets us'd.

Several other Weapons of less Note may occur in Authors, whereof I shall mention only one more, and then proceed to the missive Weapons: it is κορυμή, a Battoon of Wood, or Iron; from the Use of which the famous Robber *Periphetes*, slain by *Theseus*, was nam'd κορυμήτης (b); which Title was likewise conferr'd upon *Areithous*, who, as *Homer* tells the Story, made nothing of breaking thro' whole Squadrons of Enemies with his Iron Club (c);

Τοῖσι δ' Ερευνθαλίῳν πρῶτος ἴστατο, ἰσχυρὸς φῶς,
Τόχε' ἔχων ὅμοισιν Ἀρηϊδοῖο ἀνακτος,
Δίῃ Ἀρηϊδοῦ, καὶ, ὀπκλῆστιν, κορυμήτιν
Ἄνδρες κίχλησκον καλλιζωνοὶ τε γυναικες,
Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐτόξισι μάχεσκειτο, δρεὶ τε μακρῇ,
Ἀλλὰ σιδηρεῖν κορυμῇ ἐγγυσσε φάλαγγας.

Brave *Ereuthalion* led these on; he wore
The Arms of King *Areithous* before,
Godlike *Areithous*, Club-bearer nam'd,
And for his cruel Weapon greatly fam'd,
Who with his Club whole Squadrons put to Flight,
But never Spear, or Arrow us'd in Fight.

Mr. Dechair.

Τόξον, the Bow, the first Invention of which some ascribe to *Apollo*, who from the Art of managing this Weapon hath obtain'd divers Appellations, as ἐκνήβολος, ἐκπληθέλης, ἑκάπτος, τοξοφύρος, χρυσότοξος, ἀργυρότοξος, εὐφάρετης, &c. All which, tho' moral

(a) *Iliad*. c. v. 71c. (b) *Plutarchus Theseo*, *Diodorus Sic.* lib. IV. (c) *Iliad*. γ. v. 136.

Interpreters force to other Applications, yet the ancient Authors of Fables referr to this Original. This new Contrivance the God communicated to the primitive Inhabitants of *Crete* (a), who are reported to have been the first of Mortals, who understood the Use of Bows and Arrows (b): And even in later Ages the *Cretan* Bows were famous, and prefer'd to all others in *Greece* (c). Some rather choose to honour *Perfes* the Son of *Perseus* with this Invention; and others father it upon *Scythes* the Son of *Jupiter* (d), and Progenitor of the *Scythians*, who were excellent at this Art, and by some reputed the first Masters thereof: Thence we find it deriv'd to the *Grecians*, some of whose ancient Nobility were instructed by the *Scythians*, which, as those Times went, might justly pass for a grand Piece of Education. Thus *Hercules* (to trouble you with no more Instances) was taught by *Tentarus* a *Scythian* Swain, from whom he receiv'd a Bow and Arrows of *Scythian* Make: Whence *Lycophron*, speaking of *Hercules's* Arrows,

Τοῖς Τεταρείοις βυκόλις περὶ ῥάματι (e).

With Arrows that he had from *Tentarus*.

And tho' *Theocritus* hath chang'd his Tutour's Name into *Eurytus*, yet he also was of *Scythian* Original: and we find the Heroe in that Poet arm'd with a *Meotian*, i.e. *Scythian*, Bow (f),

Ωχετο Μαιωπιτὶ λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα.

He went arm'd with a crooked Bow after the *Meotian* Fashion.

Lycophron also arms *Minerva* with *Μαιώτης πλόκος*, a *Meotian* Bow, and in the same Place tell's us of *Hercules's* *Scythian* Dragon, whereby he means a Bow, which he bequeath'd to *Philoctetes* for his Care in kindling the Pile wherein he was burn'd alive (g),

Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἄρδιν εὐθιωῖ χερσὶν
Σάλπηγξ, ὑπολάβουσα Μαιώτιον πλόκον.
Δύραι παρ' ὄχθαις ὅς ποτε φλέξας θρασυῖ
Λέοντα, ξαίβῳ χεῖρας ὥπλισε Σκύθῃ
Δράκοντ', ἀρτίκτων γομφίων λυγροτύπον.

Minerva, who found out the Trumpet's Sound,
Drawing her Arrows with a skillfull Hand

(n) *Diodorus Siculus*. (b) *Isidorus*. (c) *Pollux* lib. I. cap. X. (d) *Plinius*.
(e) *Cassandr. v. 56* Item *Tzetzi's Scholia* ibidem, & *Theocritus Scholiastes Idyll.*
XIII. (f) *Idyll. XIII. v. 56*. (g) *Cassandr. v. 914*.

She aim'd, and shot with a *Mæotian Bow*.
 This crooked Bow the Godlike *Hercules*,
 Whose Arrows, when they flew wou'd alwaies kill,
 First us'd, and then to *Philoetes* gave
 A Present for the Pile at *Doria's Banks*.

Mr. Dechair.

Both the Poets seem particularly to remark the *Incurvation* of the *Scythian Bow*, which distinguish'd it from the Bows of *Greece*, and other Nations; and was so great as to form an Half-moon, or Semicircle (a). Whence the Shepherd in *Athenæus* (b), being to describe the Letters in *Theseus's* Name, and expressing each of them by some apposite Resemblance, compares the third to the *Scythian Bow*,

Σκυδικῷ δὲ τίξω τὸ τρίτον ὡς παρεμφερές.

The third was like a *Scythian Bow*.

Meaning not the more modern Character Σ, but the ancient C, which is semicircular, and bears the third Place in Θ Η C Ε Υ C. The *Grecian Bows* were frequently beautify'd with Gold, or Silver, whence we have mention of *aurei arcus*, and *Apollo* is call'd ἀρσυρότοκος, but the Matter of which they were compos'd, seems for the most Part to have been Wood; tho' they were anciently, *Scythian* like, made of Horn, as we read of *Pandarus's* in *Homer* (c), •

Αὐτὴν ἐσύλα τίξον εὐξοον, ἰξάλε αἰγὸς
 Ἀγέις, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ σέρνοιο τυχήσας,
 Πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα δεδεγμῶτος ἐν περὶ δολκῆσι,
 Βεβλήκει πρὸς σῆδος, ὃ δ' ὕπιος ἔμπισσε πέτρῃ·
 Τῷ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαυδενάδωρα πεφύκει,
 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κεραοζόος ἦραρε τέκτων,
 Πᾶν δ' αὖ λείπνας, χρυσέῳ ἐπέδμηκε κορώνῳ.

Straight he pulls out an handsome polish'd Bow,
 Once it a wanton He-goat's Horn did grow,
 A Goat, that coming from his wonted Rock
 He spy'd, and wounded with a mortal Stroak:
 The Dart pierc'd thro' his Breast, and straight the Ground
 Receiv'd him falling by so deep a Wound:
 Long were his Horns, and these a Workman wrought,
 And made the very Bow, with which he fought;

(a) *Ammianus Marcellinus* lib. XX. (b) *Lib. X.* (c) *Iliad. N. v. 105.*

The Horn he smoothly polish'd, and affix'd
A Golden Nob upon the Top.

Mr. Dechair.

Whence *Lycophron*, who takes a Pride in antiquated and forgotten Customs and Expressions, speaks thus of *Apollo* encountering *Idas* with his Bow (a);

—— ἐν χάρμασι ζαλώσας κέρας.

—— In Battles bent his Horn.

But some ancient *Glossographers* by κέρας would rather understand τρίχως, or the Bow-string, which was compos'd of Horfes Hair, and therefore call'd also ἰππεῖα (b): To which Custom *Accius* alludes,

Reciproca tendens nervo equino concita
Tela.——

Drawing the Arrows with an Horfe's Hair.

Homer's Bow-strings are frequently made of Hides cut into small Thongs: Whence we read of τῆξα βόεια;

ἔλκε δ' ὁμῶς γλυφίδας τε λαβῶν, καὶ τῆξα βόεια.

He drew the Arrow by the Leathern String.

As *Eustathius* observes upon that Place (c). One Thing more is remarkable in their Bows: It is that Part, to which the String was fix'd; 'twas upon the uppermost Part of the Bow, and call'd κορώνη, commonly made of Gold, and the last Thing towards finishing a Bow; whence *Homer*, when he has describ'd the Manner of making a Bow, adds after all,

—— χρυσέλιον ἐπέθηκε κορώνην.

Hence, *Eustathius* tell's us, χρυσέλιον ἐπιτιθέναι κορώνην signifies to bring any Affair to an happy Conclusion.

The Arrows usually consist of light Wood, and an Iron head, which was commonly hook'd: Whence *Ovid* (d);

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 564. (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Iliad.* N. p. 344. Ed. Basil. (d) *De Amore.*

Et manus hamatis utraque est armata sagittis.

Hook'd Arrows arm'd both Hands.

Sometimes they were arm'd with two, three, or four Hooks:
Hence *Statius* (a);

Aspera tergemini acies se condidit uncis.

The Head with three Hooks arm'd
Enter'd his Body.

In this Sence likewise *Hippocrates's* τετράζωνα βέλη are to be understood. The Heads of Arrows were sometimes besmear'd with Poyson; for which Piece of human Skill *Virgil's* *Amycus* was famous (b);

————— *ferarum*
Vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.

————— *Amycus* the Man,
Who many a wild and savage Beast had slain,
Fam'd for his Skill, and for his wondrous Art
In giving double Force to any Dart,
Or Arrow, with his Poyson.

This Practice was more frequent in barbarous Nations, but seldom us'd, or understood in *Greece*: Wherefore *Minerva* in *Homer* having assum'd the Form and Titles of *Menes* King of the *Taphians*, and Son to *Anchialus*, pretends that her Father, out of an extraordinary Love to *Ulysses*, oblig'd him with a Quantity of this deadly Ointment, after he had been at the Pains of a tedious Journey to *Ephyra*, to furnish himself, but had been deny'd it by *Irus* the Son of *Mermerus*, who (as the Poet tells us) rejected *Ulysses's* Request out of a Scruple of Conscience, being afraid that Divine Vengeance would prosecute so criminal an Action (c);

Εξ Εφύρης ἀγίνοντα παρ' Ἰλῆς Μερμερίδαο.
Ὡ, χετο γδ κακέϊσε δοῖς ὅτι νηὶς Ὀδυσσεύς,
Φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὅρρα οἱ εἶναι
Ἰὺς χεῖρα χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔειπε
Δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ ἔα δ' αὖτε νημεσίζετο αἶψα ἔοντας·
Ἀλλὰ πατὴρ οἱ δῶκεν ἑμὸς, φιλέεσκε γδ αἰνῶς.

(a) *Thebaid*, lib. IX. (b) *Aeneid*. IX. v. 771. (c) *Odysf.* α'. v. 260.

—When he had *Ilus* left
Return'd from *Ephyra*; in Hopes to find
Some Poyson he for Arrows Heads design'd,
Ulysses thicker sail'd, *Ilus* rever'd
Th' immortal Gods, and therefore much he fear'd
To grant what he desir'd, but easier far
He found *Anchialus*, who straight took care
To give the killing Poyson, that he ask'd,
For dearly well he lov'd him.

Mr Dechair.

They were usually wing'd with Feathers, to encrease their Speed and Force, whence *Homer's* *πτερεῖς ἰός* (a), *πτερεῖς οἶσος* (b), *Ορπιαν's* *οἶσος οὐροπτερούς* (c), and *Ἀπιδος* (d), *Sophocles's* *ἰός κομήτι* (e), with divers other Epithets, ~~and~~ Names to the same Purpose (f). These they carry'd to the Battle in a Quiver, which was usually clos'd on all Sides, and therefore (as *Eustathius* (g) observes) joyn'd with the Epithet *ἀμφηρεφής*: This with the Bow the Heroes carry'd upon their Backs: Thus *Apollo* in *Homer* (h);

Τόξ' ἀμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφηρεφέα τε φέρετ' ἐλκω.

Carrying his Bow, and Quiver on his Shoulders.

Hercules is represented by *Hesiod* in the same Manner (i);

— κοίλῳ δὲ πρὶ ἐσθλαῖ φέρετ' ἐλκω
καββάλετ' ἐξόπιδεν, πολλοὶ δ' ἐντοδεν οἶσος
πρηνελοὶ, θανάτοιο λαδιφρόγγοιο δοτῆρες.

— towards his Back
He turn'd the hollow Quiver, which contain'd
Great Shafts, whole Force no Mortal yet sustain'd,
And did not straight expire.

Likewise the famous *Heroïn* in *Virgil* (k);

Aureus ex humero sonat arcus, & arma Dianæ.

The Golden Bow and Arrows loosely hung
Down from her Shoulders.

(a) *Iliad*. N. v. 116. &c. (b) *Iliad*. ε'. v. 171. (c) *Διουσκ. Ε'*. (d) *Κορινθ.* α'. (e) *Trachiniis*. (f) Vide *Commentarium meum* in *Lycophron*. v. 56. (g) *Iliad*. α'. p. 29. Ed. Baf. (h) *Iliad*. α'. (i) *Scuto Herculi* v. 130. (k) *Æneid*. XI. v. 652.

In drawing Bows the primitive *Grecians* did not pull back their Hand towards their right Ear; according to the Fashion of modern Ages, and of the ancient *Persians* (a); but, placing their Bows directly before them, return'd their Hand upon their right Breast (b); which was the Custom of the *Amazonian Women*, who are reported to have cut off their Right Breasts, lest they should be an Impediment to them in Shooting; on which Account their Name is commonly thought to have been deriv'd from the privative Particle α and μαζός, i. e. from their Want of a Breast. Thus *Homer* of *Pandarus* (c),

Ναυρῶ μ' μαζῶ πέλασεν, τόξω δ' ἐσίδμεν.

Up to the Head the mortal Shaft he drew,
The Bow-string touch'd his Breast.

There were several sorts of Darts, or Javelins, as γέσφοι, call'd in *Homer* ἀγανέν (d); ὕψος, and many others; some of which were projected by the Help of a Strap girt round their Middle, and call'd in *Greek* σγκύλη, in *Latin* *amentum*, the Action is express'd by the Word ἀγκυλίσσας, which is likewise sometimes us'd in a more general Sence for any sort of Darting, tho' without Straps. The Javelin thus cast was term'd μεσάγκυλον; the Custom is mention'd in the *Roman*, as well as *Greek Writers*: Whence *Seneca* in his *Hippolytus*,

*Amentum digitis tende prioribus,
Et totis jaculum dirige viribus.*

The Strap with your Fore-finger draw,
Then shoot with all your Strength.

The ancient *Grecians* were wont to annoy their Enemies with great Stones. Thus *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (e);

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τ' ἄλλων ἐπεπωλείτο σίχας ἀνδρῶν,
Εγχεί τ', ἀοεί τε, μεγάλοιό τε χειρμαδιόσιν.

But he to other Ranks himself betook,
And here his Spear, his Sword, and Stones too struck
The flying Enemy.

(a) *Procopius* de Bell. Persic. lib. I. (b) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. N. p. 344. & *Iliad*. N. p. 602. Ed. Basil. (c) *Iliad*. N. v. 123. (d) *Eustathius* *Odys.* N. (e) *Iliad*. N. v. 264.

These were not Stones of an ordinary Size, but such as the joyn't Strength of several Men in our Days would be unable so much as to lift. With a Stone of this Bigness *Dionides* knocks down *Aeneas* in *Homer* (a);

——— ὁ δ' ἡρμάδον λάβ' ἔχει
 Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ δ' ἄνδρ' ἄνδρ' ἔφρονον,
 Οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶν', ὃ δέ μιν ἔειπα πάντες καὶ οἶσ'·
 Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείας κατ' ἰσχίον. ———

——— a vast and monstrous Stone
 The brave *Tydidēs* took and threw alone,
 A Stone it was, so heavy, and so great,
 Not two the strongest Men could bear the Weight,
 As now Men are, but he with Ease it hurl'd,
 And broke *Aeneas's* Hip.

Ajax likewise, and *Hector* encounter'd one another with the same Weapons; and the latter (as the Poet tells us) had his Buckler broken with a Stone scarce inferiour in Bigness to a Mill-stone (b);

Εἶσω δ' ἀσπίδι' ἔαζι, βαλὼν μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ.

A Stone so big, you might a Mill-stone call,
 He threw, which made the Shield in Pieces fall.

Nor did the Gods themselves disdain to make use of them; as appears from *Homer's Minerva*, who attack'd the God of War with a Stone of a prodigious Size, which had been in former Ages plac'd for a Land-mark (c);

Ἡ δ' ἀναχαιτωμένη, λίθον εἵλετο χεὶρὶ παχείῃ
 Κεῖμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, σπηχυῶ τε, μέγαν τε,
 Τὸν ἔ' ἄνδρ' ὡς ἔτερεσι δίσσιν ἔμμεναι ἔειπ' ἀρέων·
 Τῷ βάλε θυρὸν Ἀρηά κατ' αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα.

——— here stepping back
 A Stone, that long had lain to part the Land,
 She forces up with her commanding Hand,
 A sharp, black, heavy Stone, which, when 'twas thrown,
 Struck *Mars's* Neck; the helpless God falls down
 With shiv'ring Limbs.



(a) *Iliad*. i. v. 302. (b) *Iliad*. ii. v. 270. (c) *Iliad*. vi. v. 403.

Virgil has elegantly imitated some of these Passages in his twelfth *Aeneid* (a), where he speaks of *Turnus* in this manner;

*Nec plura effatur, saxum circumspicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis:
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus:
Ille manu raptum trepida contorsit in hostem
Arior insurgens, & cursu concitus heros.*

He spake no more, but straight a Stone he spy'd,
An old prodigious Stone, which to divide
The Lands there lay, lest Quarrels might ensue,
And one should claim what was another's Due.
Should Six the lustiest Men together try
To bear this Stone, it would their Strength defie,
So weak, so frail the Bodies, that Men wear,
Such puny Men, as now on Earth appear;
He snatch'd it up, and running on him threw
This massy Stone.

Mr. Dechair.

On all which Relations several modern, especially French Critics insult with Triumph, imagining them grossly absurd and ridiculous; whilst forming what they call Rules of Probability from the Manners of their own Times, they can scarce meet with one Passage in all the Volumes of ancient Poetry, that do's not on some Score or other foully disgust their curious and distinguishing Palates.

But however the Heroick Fights might be carry'd on in this Manner, as most of the ancient Poets witness, yet in nearer Ages, when they tell us Men's Strength, and Courage were lessen'd, but their Policy, and Conduct improv'd, we seldom find any Mention of Stones, except in Sieges, where the Defenders frequently roll'd down vast Rocks upon their Enemies Heads. They were likewise cast out of several Engines, of which the most common in Field-engagements was

Squadræyn. a Sling; which, we are told by some, was invented by the Natives of the *Balearian* Islands, where it was manag'd with so great Art and Dexterity, that young Children were not allow'd any Food by their Mothers, 'till they could sling it down from the Beam, where it was plac'd aloft (b); and when they arriv'd to be of Age to serve in the Wars, this was the prin-

(a) V. 896. (b) *Vegetii* de re militari lib. I. cap. XVI. *Lucius Elorius* lib. III. cap. VIII. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. V. *Strabo* lib. III.

capital of their offensive Arms; it being customary for all of them to be furnish'd with three Slings, which either hung about their Necks, according to *Eustathius* (a); or were carry'd, one on their Necks, one in their Hands, a third about their Loyns (b). Hence the *Balearian* Slings are famous in all ancient Writers; Take on-ly one Instance out of *Ovid* (c);

*Non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum
Funda jacit; volat illud, & incandescit ensedo,
Et quos non habuit, sub nubibus invenit ignes.*

———— He burnt within
Just like the Lead the *Balearian* Sling
Hurls out; You hear the Bullet whistling fly,
And Heat attends it all along the Sky,
The Clouds the Fire, it wants it self, Supply.

Mr. Dechair.

It was likewise common in *Greece*, especially amongst the *Acar-nanians* (d), who were well skill'd in managing it, and are by some thought to have invented it; Others give that Honour to the *Etolians* (e), But none of the *Grecians* manag'd it with so great Art and Dexterity as the *Achaians*, that inhabited *Aegyum*, *Dy-ma* and *Patrae*; who were brought up to this Exercise from their Infancy (f), and are thought by some to have excell'd the *Ba-learians*: Whence it became a Custom to call any Thing directly levell'd at the Mark, *Αρχειον βελος* (g). This Weapon was us'd for the most part by the common, and light-arm'd Souldiers: *Cyrus* is said to have thought it very unbecoming any Offi-cer (h); and *Alexander* endeavouring to render his Enemies as contemptible to his own Souldiers as he could, tells them, "They were a confus'd and disorderly Rabble, some of them having no Weapon, but a Javelin, others were design'd for no greater Ser-vice, than to cast Stones out of a Sling, and very few were re-gularly arm'd (i)." The Form of a Sling we may learn from *Dionysius*, by whom the Earth is said to resemble it, being not exactly Spherical, but extended out in Length, and broad in the Middle: for Slings resembled a platted Rope, somewhat broad in the Middle, with an Oval Compass, and so by little and little decreasing into two Thongs, or Reins. The *Geographer's* Words are these (k);

(a) *Commentario in Dionysium*. (b) *Lycophron*, ejusque *Scholias* v. 635.
(c) *Metamorph.* lib II. v. 727. (d) *Tollux* lib I. cap. X. (e) *Strabo*. (f) *Li-vius* lib. XXXVIII. (g) *Suidas*. (h) *Xenoph. Cyropæd.* lib. VII. (i) *Curtius* lib. IV. (k) *Περγύς*. v. 5.

Οὐ μὲν πάντα λείπετο πέδιδρομος, ἀλλὰ λείμφις
 Εὐρυτέρῃ βεβαῦσα περὶς ἡλίοιο κατεύδης,
 Σφινδὼνι εἰοικυῖα. ———

It's Matter seems not to have been always the same; in *Homer* we find it compos'd of a Sheep's Fleece; and therefore one of the Heroes being wounded in the Hand, *Agenor* binds it with his Sling (a);

Αὐτὸν (ἰ. χεῖρα) ὃ ξυνέδησεν εὐσπέρῳ οἶδς ἀλώφ,
 Σφινδὼνι, λὺ ἄρα οἱ διράππων ἔχεται ποικίλῃ λαῶν.

A Sling of Wool he to his Hand apply'd,
 One of his Servants held it.

Out of it were cast Arrows, Stones, and Plummets of Lead call'd *μολυβδίδες*, or *μολυβδίνια σφαῖραι*, some of which weigh'd no less than an *Attick* Pound, i. e. an hundred Drachms. It was distinguish'd into several sorts; some were manag'd by one, others by two, some by three Cords.

The Manner of Slinging was by whirling it twice or thrice about their Head, and so casting out the Bullet. Thus *Mezenius* in *Virgil* (b),

Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

Thrice round his Head the loaded Sling he whirl'd.

But *Vegetius* commends those as the greatest Artists, that cast out the Bullet with one Turn about the Head. How far this Weapon carry'd it's Load is express'd in this Verse,

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

It's Force was so great, that neither Head-piece, Buckler, or any other Armour was a sufficient Defence against it; and so vehement it's Motions, that (as *Seneca* reports) the Plummets were frequently melted.

Lastly, we find mention of Fire-balls, or Hand-granado's call'd *πυροβάλοι λίθοι*. &c. One sort of them are call'd *συντάλια*, or *συνταλίδες*, which were compos'd of Wood, and some of them a Foot, others a Cubit in Length: Their Heads were arm'd with

(a) *Iliad*. v. 599. (b) *Æneid*. IX. v. 587.

Spikes of Iron, beneath which were plac'd Torches, Hemp, Pitch, or such like combustible Matter, which being set on Fire, they were thrown with great Force toward the Enemy's first Ranks Head foremost, whereby the Iron-spikes being fasten'd to whatever came in their Way, they burn'd down all before them (a): Wherefore they seem to have been of the greatest Use in Leaguers, to demolish the Enemy's Works; tho' my Author mentioneth no such Thing.

Concerning Military Apparel nothing certain, or constant can be related; only it may be observ'd, that *Lyciurgus* order'd the *Lacedemonians* to cloath their Souldiers in Scarlet; The Reason of which Institution seems either to have been, because that Colour is both soonest imbib'd by Cloath, and most lasting and durable (b); Or on the Account of it's Brightness and Splendour, which that Law-giver thought conducive to raise Men's Spirits, and most suitable to Minds animated with true Valour (c); Or, lastly, because 'twas most proper to conceal the Stains of Blood, a Sight of which might either daunt and despirit the raw and un-experienc'd Souldiers of their own Party, or inspire their Enemies with fresh Life, and Vigour (d): Which *Eustathius* observes to have been well and wisely consider'd, when he comments on that Passage of *Homer*, where the cowardly *Trojans* upon seeing *Ulysses's* Blood flow from his Wound, receive new Courage, and, animating one another, rush with united Force upon the Hero (e);

Τρώες δ' ἐμπαύμενοι, ἐπεὶ ἶδον αἷμ' Ὀδυσῆος,
Κεχρόμενοι καὶ ὅμιλον, ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔβυσαν.

—The *Trojans* saw *Ulysses's* Blood

Gush from his Wound, then with new Life inspir'd
Each stirr'd the other up, and with joynt Force
Rush'd on the Hero.

'Tis farther remarkable of the *Lacedemonians*, that they never engag'd their Enemies, but with Crowns, and Garlands upon their Heads (f), tho' at other Times they were unaccustom'd to such Ornaments: Hereby ascertaining themselves of Success, and, as it were, anticipating their Victory, Crowns being the ordinary Rewards presented to Conquerours in all the Parts of *Greece*. So wonderfull, indeed, were the old *Lacedemonian* Courage and Fortune, that they encounter'd their Enemies fearless and unconcern'd, joyning Battle with certain Hopes, or rather Assurance of Victo-

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Xenophon* de Rep. *Laced.* (c) *Plutarchus* Institut. *Laconic.*
(d) *Plutarchus* loc. citat. *Ælianus* lib. VI. cap. VI. *Valerius Maximus* lib. II. cap. VI. (e) *Iliad* x. v. 459. (f) *Xenophon*, item *Plutarchus* *Lyciurgo*.

ry; which was a Thing so common to them, that for their greatest Successes, they seldom sacrific'd to the Gods any more than a Cock: Nor were they much elevated when the happy News arriv'd, nor made Presents of any Value to the Messengers thereof, as was usual in other Cities: For after the famous Battle of *Maninea*, we find the Person, ~~that~~ carry'd the Express of Victory, rewarded with nothing but a good Piece of powder'd Beef (a).

The Souldiers usually carry'd their own Provisions, which consisted for the most part, of Salt-meat, Cheese, Olives, Onyons, &c. To which End every one had a Vessel of Wickers (b), with a long, narrow Neck, call'd *γύλιον*, whence Men with long Necks are by the Comedian term'd in Derision *γυλιώχες* (c).

CHAPTER V.

Of the Officers in the Athenian and Lacedemonian Armies.

THE Grecian Cities being govern'd by different Laws, the Nature, and Titles of their Offices, whether in Military, or Civil Affairs, must of consequence be distinguish'd. Wherefore, it being an endless Undertaking to recount the various Commands throughout the whole Grecian Nation, I shall only present you in this Place with a short View of the chief Offices in the *Athenian* and *Lacedemonian* Armies.

In the primitive Times, when most States were govern'd by Kings, the supreme Command belong'd to them of Course; and it was one principal Part of their Duty towards their Subjects to lead them forth in Person against their Enemies, and in single Combat to encounter the bravest of them at the Head of their Armies. And it may be observ'd, that when any Prince thro' Cowardice, or other Weakness was judg'd unable to protect his People, it was customary for them, withdrawing their Allegiance, to substitute a Person better qualify'd in his Place: A memorable Instance whereof we have in *Thymætes* an *Athenian* King, who, declining a Challenge sent by *Xanthus* King of *Bæotia*, was depos'd without farther ado, and succeeded by a Foreigner, one *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, who undertook to revenge the Quarrel of *Athens* on the *Bæotians* (d).

(a) *Plutarchus Agésilæo.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Ascharnens.* (c) *Pacc.*
(d) *Vide Archaeolog. nostr. Vol. I. p. 333.*

Yet on some Occasions it was not impracticable for the King to nominate a Person of eminent Worth and Valour to be his *Πολέμαρχος*, or General, who either commanded under the King, or, when the Emergency of other Affairs requir'd his Absence, supply'd his Place: Which honourable Post was conferr'd by King *Erechthus* upon *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus* in the *Eleusinian War* (a).

But the Government being at length devolv'd upon the People, Affairs were manag'd after a new Method; For all the Tribes being invested with an equal Share of Power, 'twas appointed that each of them should nominate a Commander out of their own Body: This Nomination was made in publick, and frequently lighted upon the same Persons, if they behav'd themselves with Courage and Prudence, and executed their Office for the Safety and Honour of their Country; Infomuch that 'tis reported of *Phocion*, that he was a Commander five and forty Times, tho' he never su'd, or canvas'd for that Honour, but was always promoted by the free and voluntary Choice of the People (b). Before their Admission to Office they took an Oath of Fidelity to the Common-wealth, wherein one Thing is more peculiarly remarkable, viz. That they oblig'd themselves to invade the *Megarians* twice every Year: Which Clause was first inserted in the Oath by a Decree preferr'd by *Charinus*, on the Account of *Anthemocrinus* an *Athenian Herald*, whom the *Megarians* had barbarously murder'd about the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian War*: This done, the Command of all the Forces, and warlike Preparations was entrusted in their Hands, to be employ'd and manag'd as they judg'd convenient; Yet was not their Power absolute, or unlimited, it being wisely order'd, that upon the Expiration of their Command, they should be liable to render an Account of their Administration: Only, on some extraordinary Occasions, it seem'd fit to exempt them from this Restraint, and send them with full and uncontrollable Authority, and then they were styl'd *Ἀυτοκράτορες* (c): Which Title was conferr'd on *Aristides*, when he was General at the famous Battle of *Platææ*; upon *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus* in the *Sicilian Expedition*, and several others (d). These Commanders were Ten, according to the Number of the *Athenian Tribes*, and all call'd *Στρατηγοί*, being invested with equal Power, and about the first Times of their Creation frequently dispatch'd all together in Expeditions of Concern and Moment, where every one enjoy'd the supreme Command by Days: But lest in controverted Matters an Equality of Voices should retard their Proceedings we find an eleventh Person joyn'd in Commission with them, and call'd *Πολέμαρχος*, whose Vote,

(a) *Pausanias Atticis.* (b) *Plutarchus Phocione.* (c) *Suidas.* (d) *Plutarchus.*

added to either of the contending Parties, weigh'd down the Balance, as may appear from *Herodotus's* Account of the *Athenian* Affairs in the *Median* War.

But in some Time it was look'd on as unnecessary, and perhaps not very expedient, for so many Generals to be sent with equal Power to manage military Affairs: Wherefore, tho' the ancient Number was elected every Year, they were not all oblig'd to attend the Wars; but one, two, or more, as Occasion requir'd, were dispatch'd to that Service: The *Polemarchus* was diverted to civil Business, and became Judge of a Court, where he had Cognizance of Law-suits between the Natives, or Free-men of *Athens* and Foreigners: The rest of the Generals had every Man his proper Employment, yet none were wholly free from military Concerns, but determin'd all Controversies that happen'd amongst Men of that Profession, and order'd all the Affairs of War that lay in the City (a). Hence they came to be distinguish'd into two sorts, one they term'd τὰς ἐν τῇ διοικήσει, because they administer'd the City-business; the other τὰς ἐν τῇ ὀπλῳ, from their Concern about Arms. The latter of these listed and disbanded Souldiers as there was Occasion (b), and, in short, had the whole Management of War devolv'd upon them during their Continuance in that Post, which seems not to have been long, it being customary for the Generals, who remain'd in the City, to take their Turns of serving in the War (c).

Ταξιάρχαι were likewise ten, (every Tribe having the Privilege of electing one) and commanded next under the Στρατηγοί. They had the Care of *Marshalling* the Army, gave Orders for their Marches, and what Provisions every Souldier should furnish himself with, which were convey'd to the Army by publick *Cryers*. They had also Power to cashire any of the common Souldiers, if convicted of Misdemeanours. Their Jurisdiction was only over the Foot (d).

Ἰππαρχοί were only two in Number (e), and had the chief Command of the Cavalry next under the Στρατηγοί (f).

Φύλαρχοί were ten; one being nominated by every Tribe. They were subordinate Officers to the Ἰππαρχοί, and invest'd with Authority to discharge Horse-men, and to fill up the Vacancies, as Occasion requir'd (g).

Thus much of the General Officers, the Inferiours usually deriv'd their Titles from the Squadron, or Number of Men under

(a) *Demosthenes Philipp.* (b) *Idem Orat. de Epitrierch. Plutarchus Phocione.* (c) *Ulpianus in Midianam.* (d) *Lyfias Orat. pro Mantitheo, & de neglecta militia, Aristophanis Scholiast. Avibus.* (e) *Sigonius de Rep. Athen.* (f) *Demosthenes Midiana.* (g) *Lyfias in locis citatis.*

their Command: as λοχαγοί, χιλίαρχοι, ἐκατόνταρχοι, δεκάδαρχοι, πεμπάδαρχοι, &c. Proceed we in the next Place to the Commanders of the *Spartan* Army.

The supreme Command was lodg'd in one Person, for the *Lacedemonians*, however fond of *Aristocracy* in civil Affairs, found by Experience that in War a *Monarchical* Government was on several Accounts preferable to any other (a): For it happening that once upon a Difference in Opinion between their two Kings, *Demaratus* and *Cleomenes*, the former withdrew his Part of the Army and left his Colleague expos'd to the Enemy, a Law was hereupon enacted, that for the future they should never command the Army together, as had been usual before that Misfortune (b). Yet upon great and emergent Occasions, when the Safety and Honour of the State was in Dispute, they had so much Prudence, as rather by transgressing the Letter of the Law to secure their Country, than by insisting on Niceties to bring it into Danger: For we find that, when *Agis* was engag'd in a dubious War with the *Argians* & *Manineans*, *Plistonax* his fellow-King, having rais'd an Army out of such Citizens, as by their Age were at other Times excus'd from Military Service, went in Person to his Assistance (c).

The General's Title (as some say) was βασις (d), which others will have common to all other Military Officers. He was ordinarily one of the Kings of *Spacia*; it being appointed by one of *Lycurgus's* Laws, that this Honour should belong to the Kings: But in Cases of Necessity, as in their King's Minority, a Protector, or Viceroy, call'd πρῶδικος, was substituted for the Management of Military, as well as Civil Affairs (e). 'Twas under this Character, that *Lycurgus* reform'd, and new modell'd the *Lacedemonian* Polity, and commanded their Armies, during the Infancy of King *Charilaus* (f). *Pausanias* also was Tutor to *Plistarchus*, when he lead the *Lacedemonians*, and the rest of the *Grecians* against *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* Lieutenant, at *Plataeæ* (g).

This only concern'd their Land-armies, for the Laws made no Provision for their Fleets, their Law-giver having positively forbidden them to meddle with marine Affairs. Wherefore when they became Masters of a Navy, they confin'd not their Elections of Admirals to the Royal House, but rather chose to commit so great a Trust to their most able and experienc'd Sea-men; as may appear from the Instances of *Lysander*, and several others, who commanded the *Spartan* Fleets, tho' never invested with Royal Power. Nor was it ordinarily permitted their Kings, when

(a) *Isocrates* ad *Nicodemum*. (b) *Herodotus* lib. V. cap. LXXV. (c) *Thucydides* lib. V. (d) *Hesychius*. (e) *Xenophon* de *Repub. Lacedon.* (f) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (g) *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Plutarchus*, *Cornelius Nepos* *Pausanias*.

entrusted with Land-armies, to undertake the Office of Admiral : The only Person honour'd with those two Commands at the same Time, was the *Great Agesilaus* (a).

The King, however limited and restrain'd when at Home, was supreme and absolute in the Army, it being provided by a particular precept of the Law, that all others should be subordinate to him, and ready to obey his Commands (b). Notwithstanding this, he was not always left wholly to himself, and the Prosecution of his own Measures, it being customary for some of the Magistrates call'd *Ephori* to accompany him, and assist him with their Advice (c). To these, on some Occasions, others were joyn'd ; When *Agis* had unadvisedly enter'd into a League with the *Argians*, at a Time, when it lay in his Power to have forc'd them to accept of Terms far more honourable to his Country, the *Spartians* highly reſented his Imprudence, and enacted a Decree, that he should never again command an Army, without ten Counsellours to go along with him. Whether the succeeding Kings were hereby oblig'd, do's not fully appear ; but it seems probable, they were not sent to the Wars without a Council consisting, if not of the same, however of a considerable Number of the wisest Heads in *Sparta* : *Agesipolis* was attended with no less than thirty (d) ; And tho' the Tenderneſs of his Age might occasion that extraordinary Provision, yet in Wars of great Concern, or Danger, and such as were carry'd on in remote Countries, Kings of greatest Experience, and most eminent for Conduct, were not trusted without a great Number of Counsellours ; For we are told, that *Agesilaus* himself, when he made his Expedition into *Asia*, was oblig'd by a Decree of the People to take thirty along with him (e).

Beside these, the General was guarded by three hundred valiant *Spartians* call'd *Ἱππῆες*, or Horse-men, who fought about his Person (f), and were much of the same Nature with *Romulus's* Life-guards call'd *Celeres*, or Light horse, as *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* reports. Before him fought all those that had obtain'd Prizes in the *Sacred Games*, which was look'd upon as one of the most honourable Posts in the Army, and esteem'd equivalent to all the glorious Rewards conferr'd on those Victors in other Cities (g).

The chief of the subordinate Officers was call'd *Πολέμαρχος*. The Titles of the rest will easily be understood from the Names of the Parties under their Command, being all deriv'd from them : Such as *Λοχαγωγοί*, *Πεντηκοστῆρες*, *Ενωμοτάρχαι*, &c.

(a) *Plutarchus Agesilao*. (b) *Herodotus* lib. VI. *Thucydides* lib. V. (c) *Xenophon* *Ἑλληνικῶν* lib. II. (d) *Xenophon* *Ἑλληνικῶν* lib. V. (e) *Plutarchus Agesilao*, & *Xenophon*. (f) *Thucydides* lib. V. (g) *Plutarchus Lycurgo*.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the several Divisions, and Forms of the Grecian Army, with other Military Terms.

THE whole Army, as compounded of Horse and Foot, was call'd *στρατία*. The Front, *μέτωπον*, or *προσῆτος ζυγός*; The right-hand Man of which, as in other Places, was *προτοστάτης*; The Wings, *κέρατα*, of which some make *Pan*, *Bacchus's* General in his *Indian Expedition*, to have been the first Inventor; The Souldiers herein, and their Leader, *ὄχλας*; Those in the middle Ranks, *ὀπισθάται*; The Rear, *ἔσχατος ζυγός*, *ἔρα*, and the Person that brought up the Rear, *ἑραγός*, or *ὀπισθοφυλάξ* (a); which seem to have been common Names for any others that obtain'd the like Places in smaller Bodies.

Πεμπάς was a Party of five Souldiers; it's Leader, *πενμπάδαρχος*. *Δεκάς* of ten; it's Leader, *δεκάδαρχος*: And so of the rest.

Λόχος consisted of eight, as others, of twelve, or, as some, of sixteen, which was a complete *λόχος*, tho' some make that to contain no less than twenty-five. It is sometimes term'd *σίχθη*, or *δεκανία*, and it's Leader *λοχαγός*.

Διμοιεία, or *Ημιλοχία* was an half *λόχος*; It's Leader, *διμοιείτης*, or *Ημιλοχίτης*.

Συλλοχισμός was a Conjunction of several *λόχοι*: Sometimes 'tis term'd *σύσσις*, which consisted of four half, or two complete *λόχοι*, containing thirty-two Men.

Πεντηκονταρχία, however the Name imports only fifty, was usually a double *σύσσις*, consisting of four *λόχοι*, or sixty-four Men: Whence it's Leader was not only term'd *Πεντηκόνταρχος*, but *Τετραρχης*, and for *πεντηκονταρχία* we sometimes find *τεταρχία*.

Εκατονταρχία, sometimes call'd *τάξις*, consisted of two of the former, containing an hundred-twenty-eight Men. It's Com-

(a) *Orbicius*.

mander was anciently call'd Ταξίαρχος, but afterwards the Name of Εκατόνταρχος generally prevail'd. To every Εκατόνταρχία were assign'd five necessary Attendants, call'd Εκτακτοι, as not being reckon'd in the Rank with the Souldiers. These were

1. Στρατοκήρυξ, the Cryer, who convey'd by Voice the Words of Command. He was usually a Man of strong Lungs: The most remarkable of any in Story was *Homer's Stentor*, who, he tells us, was able to shout as loud as any fifty (a);

Ενθα γὰρ ἦυσε θεὰ λυκάλεν' Ὁρῶ
Στέντοι εἰσαμύλην μεγαλήτοει, χαλκιορῶνι,
Ὅς τόσον αὐδήσας, ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα.

*Justo there clamours with imperious Sway,
Like bawling Stentor, when his Lungs gave way,
Whose Voice would open in a mighty Shout,
As loud as fifty Men's.*————

2. Σημειοφόρος, the Ensign, remitted by Signs the Officer's Commands to the Souldiers; and was of use in conveying Things not to be pronounc'd openly, or discover'd; and when the Noise of War drown'd the Cryer's Voice.

3. Σαλπγκτής, or Trumpeter, was necessary, as well to signify to the Souldiers the Will of their Commanders, when Dust tender'd the two former useless, as to animate and encourage them, so on several other Accounts.

4. Τηρέτης, was a Servant, that waited on the Souldiers to supply them with Necessaries. These four were plac'd next to the fore-moſt Rank.

5. Ουεργός, the Lieutenant, brought up the Rear, and took care that none of the Souldiers were left behind, or deserted.

Σωτάριμα, παράταξις, φιλαρία, and, according to some, ξεναρία, was compounded of two τάξεις, being made up of two hundred-fifty-six Men. The Commander, Συντάγματάρχης.

Πεντακοσιάρχια, or ξεναρία contain'd two σωτάγματα, i. e. five-hundred and twelve Men. The Commander's Name was Πεντακοσιάρχης, or Ξεναγός.

Χιλιάρχια, σύσρεμμα, and (as some think) ξεναρία, was the former doubled, and consisted of a thousand and twenty-four. The Commander, Χιλιάρχος, Χιλιός, or Σύσρεμματάρχης.

(a) *Iliad*. i. v. 784.

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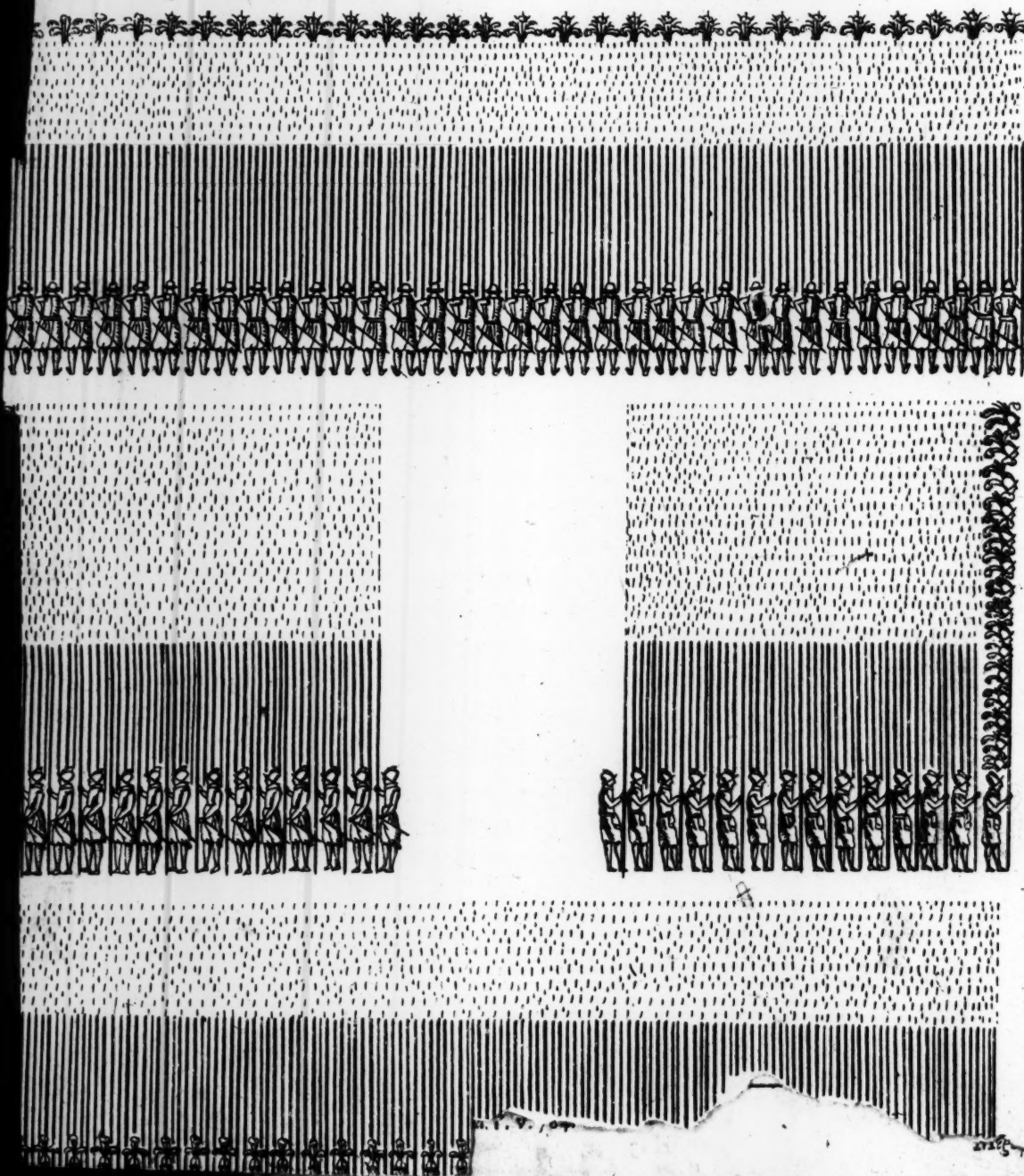
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p. 67



p. 63.

Μισαρρία, which by some is call'd τέλει, by others ὀπξινάρια, contain'd two of the former, i. e. two-thousand-forty-eight. The Commander, Μισάρης, Τελάρης, or Επξινάρχης.

Φαλαγγάρια, sometimes call'd μέγας, ὑπομὴν κέρατος, σῆμα, and, by the Ancients, στρατηγία, was compounded of two τέλει; and contain'd four-thousand-four-score and sixteen, or four-thousand-thirty-six, according to others. The Officer, Φαλαγγάρχης, &c. Στρατηγός.

Διφαλάρια, κέρα, ὀπίταγμα, and (as some think) μέγας, was almost a Duplicate of the former, for it consisted of eight-thousand, one hundred and thirty two. The Commander's Title was Κεράρης.

Τετραφαλαγγάρια contain'd about two διφαλάρια, or sixteen-thousand, three-hundred, four-score and four. The Commander, Τετραφαλαγγάρχης.

Φάλαγξ is sometimes taken for a Party of twenty-eight Men, sometimes of eight-thousand; but a complete φάλαγξ is said to be the same with τετραφαλαγγάρια. Several other Numbers are signify'd by this Name, it being frequently taken for the whole Body of Foot, and as often in general for any Company of Souldiers. Indeed the Grecian Battles were usually rang'd into an Order peculiarly term'd Phalanx; which was of such Strength, that it was able to bear any Shock with what Violence soever charg'd upon them. The Macedonians were the most famous for this Way of Imbatteling; Their Phalanx is describ'd by Polybius to be a square Battail of Pike-men, consisting of sixteen in Flank, and five-hundred in Front; the Souldiers standing so close together, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank were extended three Foot beyond the Front of the Battail: The rest, whose Pikes were not serviceable by reason of their Distance from the Front, couch'd them upon the Shoulders of those, that stood before them, and so, locking them together in File, press'd forward to support and push on the former Ranks, whereby the Assault was render'd more violent and irresistible. The Commander was call'd Φαλαγγάρχης.

Μήκος φάλαγγος was the Length, or first Rank of the Phalanx, reaching from the farthest Extremity of one Wing to that of another. 'Tis the same with μέτωπον, πρῶτον, σῆμα, πρῶτον, πρῶτολογία, πρῶτοςάται, πρῶτος ζυγός, &c. The Ranks behind were call'd, according to their Order, δεύτερος, τρίτος ζυγός, &c.

Βάθος, or πῆχος φάλαγγος, sometimes call'd πῆχος, was the Depth, consisting in the Number of Ranks from Front to Rear.

Ζυγοὶ φάλαγγος, were the Ranks taken according to the Length of the Phalanx.

Σῆμα

Στήχοι, or λόχοι, were the Files measur'd according to the Depth.
 Διχοτομία φάλαγος, the Distribution of the *Phalanx* into two equal Portions, which were term'd πτερυγί, κέρατα, &c. or Wings: The left of these was κέρας ἐνδύμον, and ἑρά; The right, κέρας δεξιόν, κεραλή, δεξιόν ἀκρωτήριον, δεξιά ἀρχή, &c.

Αραξος, ὀμφαλὸς, συνοχή φάλαγος, the Body, or middle Part between the Wings.

Λεπίσμος φάλαγος, the lessening the Depth of the *Phalanx* by cutting off some of it's Files.

Ορδία, ἐπερμήκης, or περιμήκης φάλαγξ, *acies recta*, 'or the Hesse, wherein the Depth exceeded the Length.

Πλαγία φάλαγξ differ'd from the former, by being broad in Front, and narrow in Flank; whereas the other was narrow in Front, and broad in Flank (a).

Δοξή φάλαγξ, or *obliqua acies*, when one Wing was advanc'd near the Enemies, to begin the Battle, the other holding off at a convenient Distance.

Ἀμφίσμος φάλαγξ, when the Souldiers were plac'd back to back, that they might every way face their Enemies: which Form of *Battalia* was us'd, when they were in Danger of being surrounded.

Ἀντίσμος φάλαγξ differ'd herein from the former, that it was form'd lengthways, and engag'd at both Flanks; whereas the former engag'd at Front and Rear.

Ἀμφίσμος διφάλαγξ, when the Leaders were plac'd in both Fronts, but the Οὐραγοί, who follow'd the Rear, transplanted into the Middle, so that their Enemies were confronted on all Sides.

Ἀντίσμος διφάλαγξ was contrary to the former, having the Οὐραγοί and their Rear on the two Sides, and the rest of the Commanders, who were plac'd at other Times in the Front, in the Middl facing one another; In which Form the Front, opening in two Parts, so clos'd again, that the Wings succeeded in it's Place, and the last Ranks were transplanted into the former Place of the Wings.

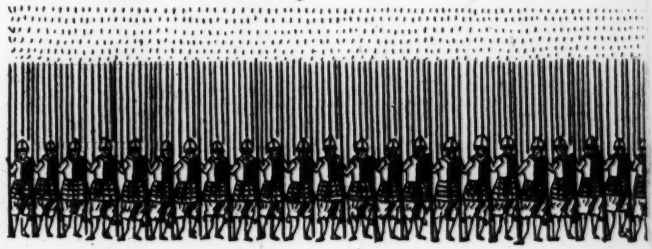
Ὁμοίοςμος διφάλαγξ was when both the *Phalanx's* had their Officers on the same Side, one marching behind the other in the same Form.

Ἐπερμόμος διφάλαγξ, when the Commanders of one *Phalanx* were plac'd on the right Flank, in the other on the left.

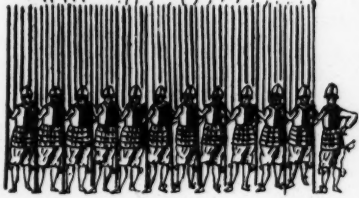
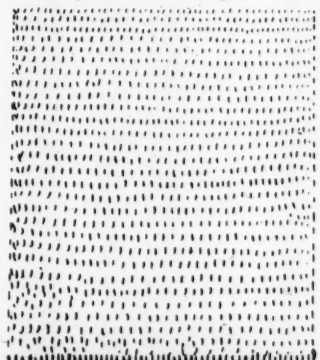
Πεπλεγμένη φάλαγξ, when it's Form was chang'd, as the Ways requir'd, thro' which it march'd.

(a) *Elisan. Tactics.*

*Plagiophalanx or the Broad-Fronted
Phalange —*



Orthiophalanx or y^e Herse



7

Σπίχοι, or λόχοι, were the Files measur'd according to the Depth.

Διχοτομία φάλαγγος, the Distribution of the *Phalanx* into two equal Portions, which were term'd πτερὰ, κέρατα, &c. or Wings: The left of these was κέρας εὐώνυμον, and ἡδὲ; The right, κέρας δεξιόν, κεφαλὴ, δεξιὸν ἀκρωτήριον, δεξιὰ ἀκρὴ, &c.

Αραρες, ὁμαλὸς, συνοχή φάλαγγος, the Body, or middle Part between the Wings.

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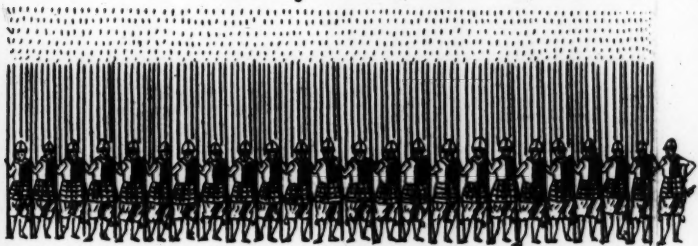
Ὀμοίοςμος διπλάσια was when both the *Phalanx's* had their Officers on the same Side, one marching behind the other in the same Form.

Ἐτερόσμος διπλάσια, when the Commanders of one *Phalanx* were plac'd on the right Flank, in the other on the left.

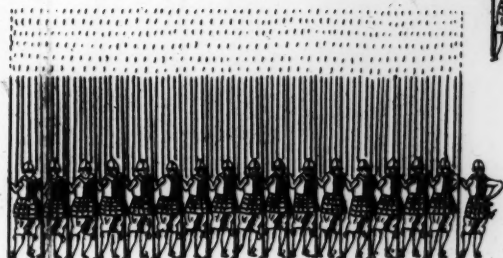
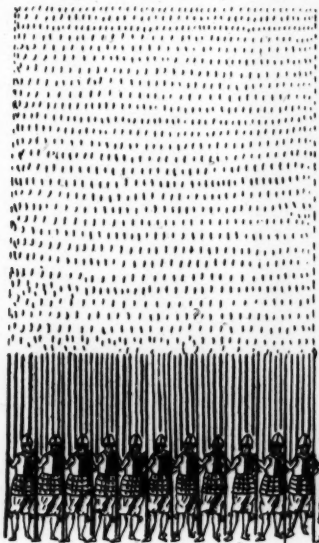
Πεπλεγμένη φάλαγγς, when it's Form was chang'd, as the Ways requir'd, thro' which it march'd.

(a) *Ælian. Tacticis.*

*Plagiophalanx or the Broad-Fronted
Phalange —*

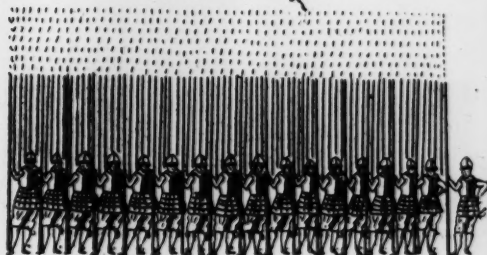


Orthiophalanx or y^e Herse



The Front

*Loxe-Phalanx or y^e uneven-Fronted
Phalange —*



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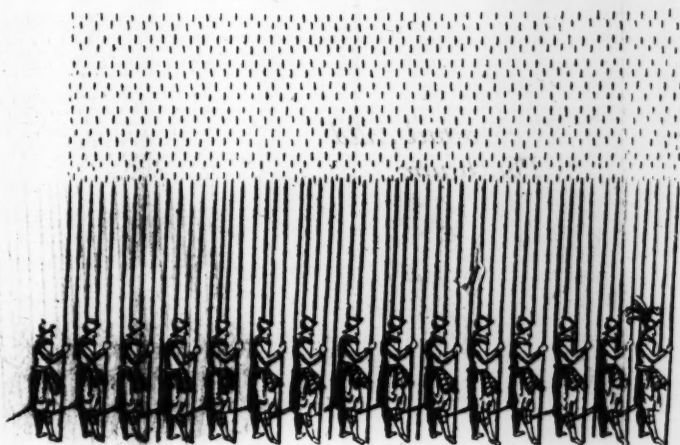
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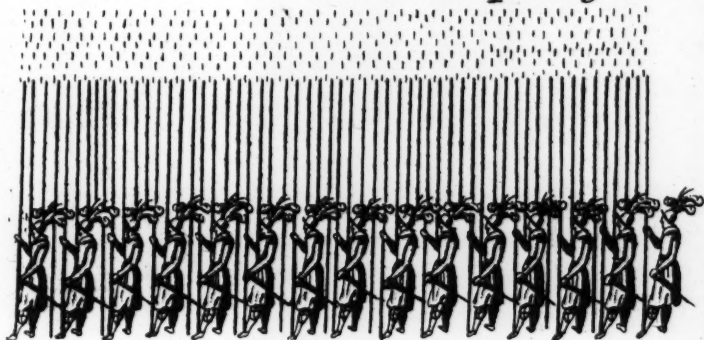
Ἐτεροστομῶ
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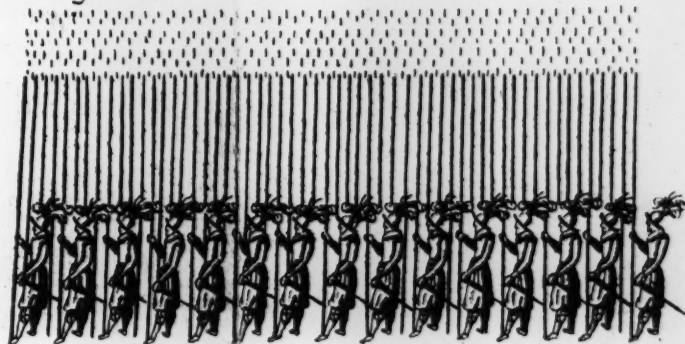
*The Battail call'd
Plinthium*

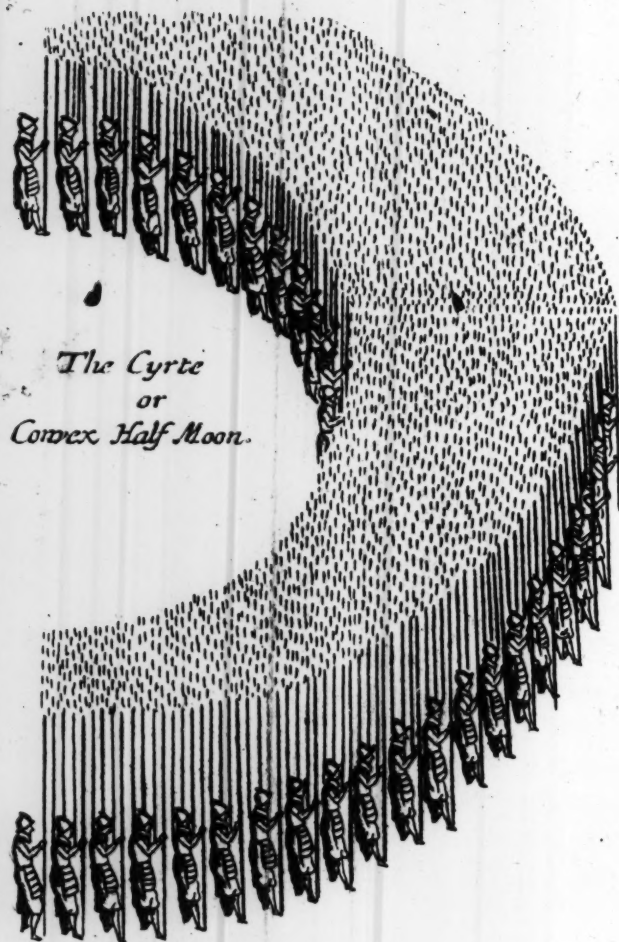


The Diphalangia



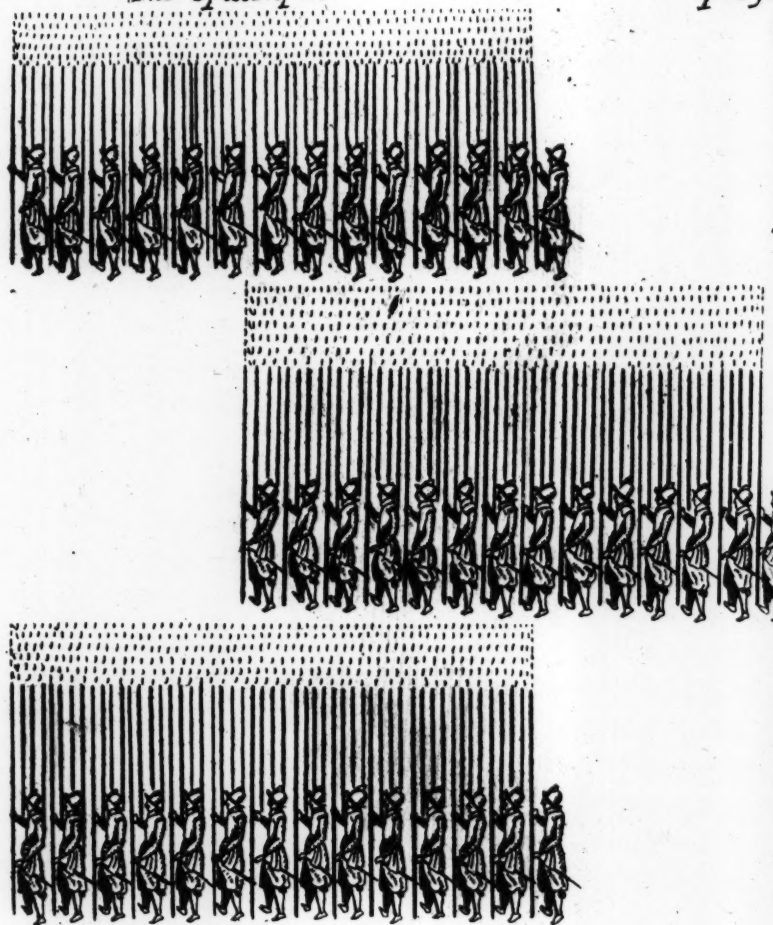
Homoistomus





*The Cyrte
or
Convex Half Moon.*

The Epicanpias



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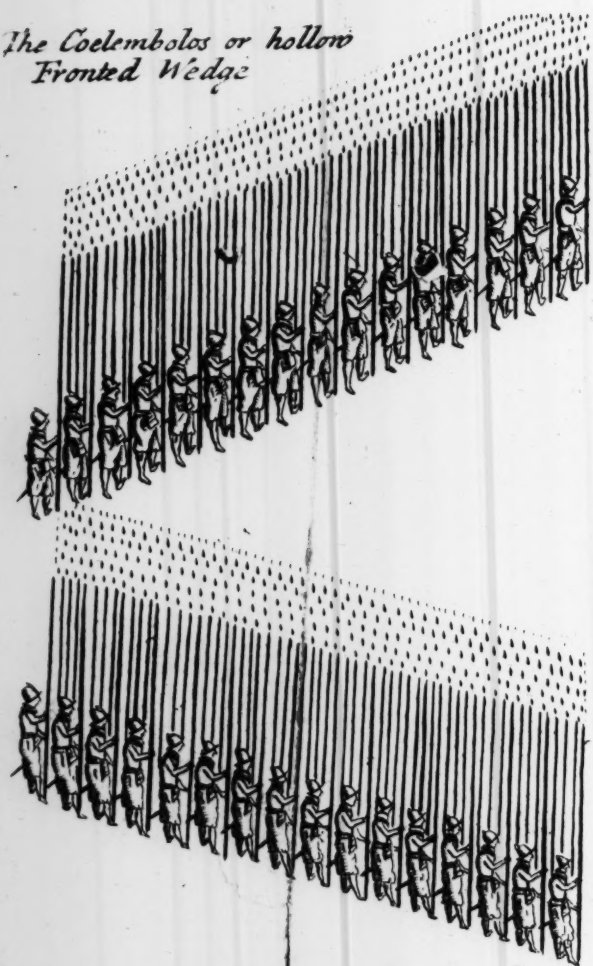
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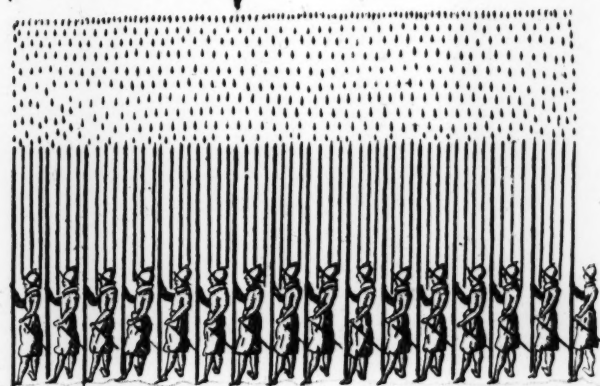
Plutarch

*The Coelembolos or hollow
Fronted Wedge*



p. 65.

The Induction



The Front

Ἐπιγεμνῆς φάλαγγς represented an half-Moon, the Wings turn'd backwards, and the main Body advanc'd toward the Enemy; or on the contrary.

The same was call'd κυρτή, and κοίλη, being Convex, and therefore hollow.

Ἐσσοριδύη φάλαγγς, when the Parts of the *Battalia* stood at an unequal Distance from the Enemy, some jutting out before others.

Υπερραλῆσις, when both Wings were extended beyond the adverse Army's Front; When only one, ὑπερκέρωσις.

Ρομβοειδῆς φάλαγγς, call'd likewise σφινγοειδῆς, a *Battalia* with four equal, but not rectangular, Sides, representing the Figure of a Diamond. This Figure was us'd by the *Thesabians*, being first contriv'd by their Country-man *Jason*. Indeed the common Forms of *Battalia* in Greece, in Sicily also, and Persia, seem to have been devis'd after this, or some other Square (a).

Ἐμβολον, rostrum, or cuneus, was a *Rhombus* divided in the Middle, having three Sides, and representing the Figure of a Wedge, or the Letter Δ. The Design of this Form was to pierce, and enter forcibly into the Enemy's Body.

Κοιλέμβολον, or Forfex, was the *Cuneus* transvers'd, and wanting the *Basis*: It represented a Pair of *Sheers*, or the Letter V; and seems to have been design'd to receive the *Cuneus*.

Πλινθιον, Πλινθία, laterculus, an Army drawn up in the Figure of a *Brick*, or *Tyle*, with four unequal Sides; it's Length was extended towards the Enemy, and exceeded the Depth.

Πύργος, Turris, was the *Brick* inverted, being an oblong Square, after the Fashion of a Tower, with the small End towards the Enemy. This Form is mention'd by *Homer* (b);

Οἱ δὲ τε πύργουθεν σφῆας αὐτὰς ἀρτυώοντες.

Wheeling themselves into a Tower's Form.

Πλαίσιον had an oblong Figure, but approaching nearer a Circle than Quadrangle.

Τερηδὼν, was an Army extended at length with a very few Men in a Rank, when the Ways they march'd thro' could not be pass'd in broader Ranks: The Name is taken from a Worm that insinuates it self into little Holes in Wood. On the same Account we find mention of φάλαγγς ξιφοειδῆς, so rang'd, as it went, to pierce thro' the Passages.

(a) *Ælianus Taciticis*, qui ubique in hoc capite consulendus. (b) *Iliad* μ. γ. 43.

Πύκνωσις φάλαγγος was the ranging Souldiers close together, so that, whereas in other *Battalies* every Man was allow'd four Cubits Space on each Side, in this he took up only two.

Συνωστισμός was closer than the former, one Cubit's Room being allow'd to every Souldier: 'Tis so call'd from *Bucklers*, which were all joyn'd close to one another.

Several other Forms of *Battalia* may occur in Authors, as those drawn in all the sorts of *Spherical* Figures. One of these was call'd ἰλιον, first invented by *Ilion* of *Thesaly*, representing the Figure of an Egg, into which the *Thesalians* commonly rang'd their Horse (a). 'Tis commonly taken for any Party of Horse of what Number soever, but sometimes in a more limited Sence for a Troop of sixty-four.

Ἐπαρχία contain'd two ἰλαι, i. e. one hundred and twenty-eight.

Ταραντιναρχία was a Duplicate of the former, consisting of two-hundred-fifty-six: For they commonly us'd a sort of Horse-men call'd Ταραντινοί, or ἱππαγωνισαί, who annoy'd their Enemies with Missive Weapons, being unable to sustain a close Fight by reason of their light Armour. There was likewise another sort of *Tarentine* Horse-men, who, having discharg'd their missive Weapons, engag'd their Enemies in close Fight. Their Name was deriv'd from *Tarentum* in *Italy*, which us'd to furnish out Horse-men of these sorts: But whether the Name of this Troop was taken from the sort of Horse-men, or the Number's being the same with that us'd by the *Tarentines*, is not certain.

Ἰππαρχία contain'd two of the former, i. e. five-hundred and twelve.

Ἐπιπαρχία was a double Ἰππαρχία, being made up of one thousand and twenty-four.

Τέλος was the former doubled, containing two-thousand-forty-eight.

Ἐπίταγμα was equal to two τέλη, being compos'd of four-thousand-ninety-six.

The *Lacedemonian* Divisions of their Army had peculiar Names.

The whole Army was divided into Μόραι, or Regiments. What Numbers of Souldiers were rang'd in each is uncertain; Some making them five-hundred, others seven, and some nine (b); But at the first Reformation of the Common-wealth, they seem not to have exceeded four-hundred, who were all Foot-men. The Commander was call'd πολέμαρχος (c); to whom was added a subor-

(a) *Ælianus* loc. citat. (b) *Thucarchus Telopida*. (c) *Xenophon* de Rep. *Laced.*

dinate Officer call'd Συμποδὴς (a): The former was Colonel, the latter his Lieutenant.

Λόχος was the fourth Part of a Μόρα: And tho' some affirm there were five λόχοι in every μόρα (b), yet the former Account seems more agreeable to the ancient State of the *Spartan Army*: For we are assur'd by *Xenophon*, that in every Μόρα there were four Λοχαγῶν.

Πεντηκοστὺς was the fourth Part, or, as others, half of a Λόχος, and contain'd fifty Men, as appears from the Name. The Commander hereof was styl'd πεντηκοντήρ, πεντηκοντατήρ, or πεντηκοστήρ: Of these there were eight in every Μόρα, as the fore-mention'd Author reports.

Ἐνωμοτία was the fourth Part, or, as others, the half of πεντηκοστὺς, contain'd twenty-five Men, and so call'd, because all the Souldiers therein were ἐνώμοτοι Ἀῖσθ' σφαγίων (c), or bound by a solemn Oath upon a Sacrifice to be faithfull and loyal to their Country: The Commander was term'd ἐνωμοτάρχης, or ἐνωμοτάρχου. Of these *Xenophon* tells us there were sixteen in every μόρα; which, together with his Account of the λόχοι, and πεντηκοστὺς, makes it evident that the primitive μόραι consisted only of four-hundred: The Disagreement of Authors herein seems to have been occasion'd by the Encrease of the *Lacedemonian Army*; For in succeeding Ages the *Spartans*, having augmented their Forces, still retain'd their ancient Names, so that the eighth Part of a μόρα, tho' perhaps containing several *Fifties*, was still term'd πεντηκοστὺς. The *Roman Battalions*, in like Manner, however encreas'd by new Additions, were still call'd *Legiones*; which, tho' at first they contain'd no more than three-thousand, were afterwards vary'd as Necessity requir'd, and consisted of four, five, or six-thousand: The same may be observ'd of their *Cohortes*, *Manipuli*, *Ordines*, &c.

There are several other Military Terms, an Explication of some of which may be expected in this Place.

Πρόταξις is the placing of any Company of Souldiers before the Front of the Army; as πρόταξις ἡλῶν, when the light-arm'd Men are drawn before the rest of the Army, to begin the Fight at a Distance with missive Weapons.

Ἐπίταξις is contrary to the former, and signifies the ranging of Souldiers in the Rear.

Περίταξις, when to one, or both Flanks of the Battail, Part of

(a) Idem *Εἰμῶν*. lib. VI. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) Idem.

the Rear is added, the Front of those, that are added, being plac'd in the same Line with the Front of the Battail.

Υπόταξις, when the Wings are doubled, by bestowing the light-arm'd Men under them in an embow'd Form, so that the whole Figure resembles a three-fold Door.

Ενταξις, παρένταξις, or περσένταξις, the placing together of different sorts of Souldiers; as when light-arm'd Men are order'd to fill up void Spaces between the heavy-arm'd Companies.

Παρεμβολή is distinguish'd from the former, as denoting the Completion of vacant Spaces in the Files by Souldiers of the same sort.

Επαγωγή is a continu'd Series of Battalions in Marches drawn up after the same Form behind one another, so that the Front of the latter is extended to the Rear of the former: Whence this Term is sometimes taken for the Rhetorical Figure *Inductio*, where certain Consequences are infer'd, in a plain and evident Method, from the Concession of some Antecedents (a).

Παραγωγή differs herein from ἐπαγωγή, that the *Phalanx* proceedeth in a Wing not by File, but by Rank, the Leaders marching not directly in the Front, but on one Side; when toward the left, 'twas call'd εὐώνυμος ὤδραγωγή: When toward the right, δεξιὰ ὤδραγωγή.

Επαγωγή and ὤδραγωγή are distinguish'd into four sorts; For when they expected the Enemy, and march'd on prepar'd for him only on one Side, they were call'd ἐπαγωγή, or ὤδραγωγή μονόπλευρος: When on two Sides, δίπλευρος: When on three, τριπλευρος: When every Side was ready for an Assault, τετραπλευρος.

The Motions of the Souldiers at their Officers Command were term'd κλίσεις.

Κλίσις ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, to the right: Because they manag'd their *Spears* with their right Hands.

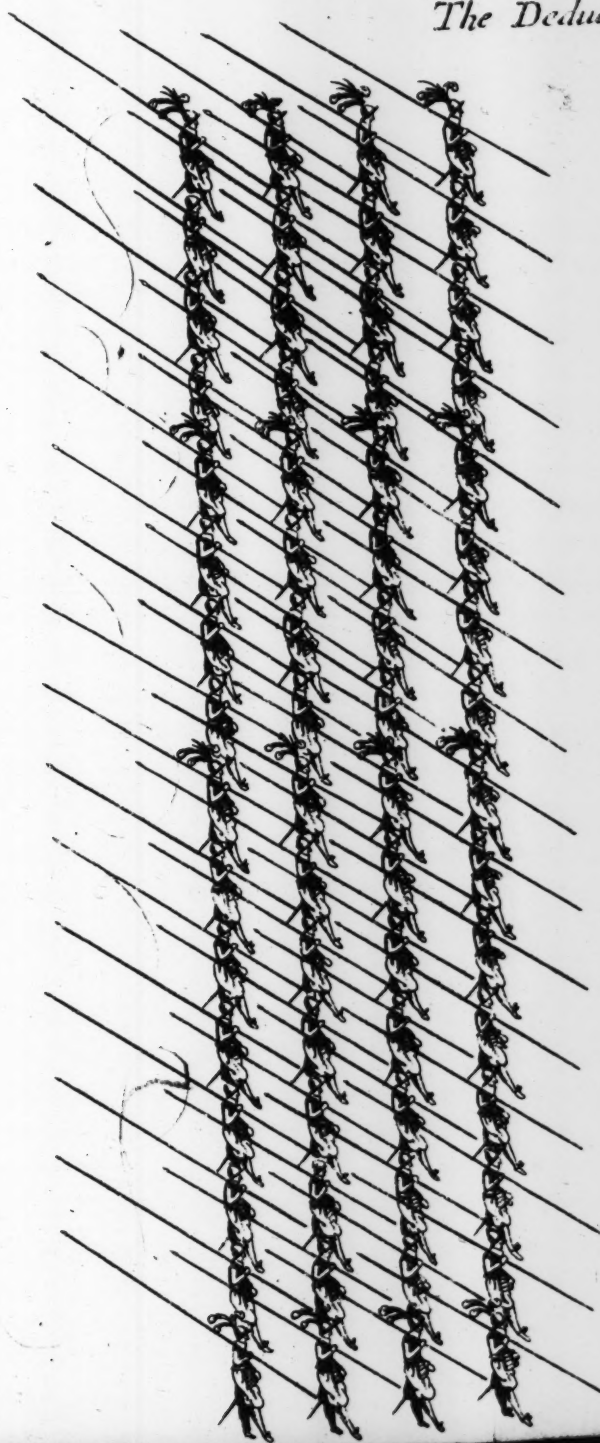
Επανάκλισις, the retrograde Motion, i. e. to the left.

Κλίσις ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα, to the left: For their Bucklers were held in their left Hands.

Μεταβολή is a double Turn to the same Hand, whereby their Backs were turn'd on what before lay to their Faces. There were two sorts of it:

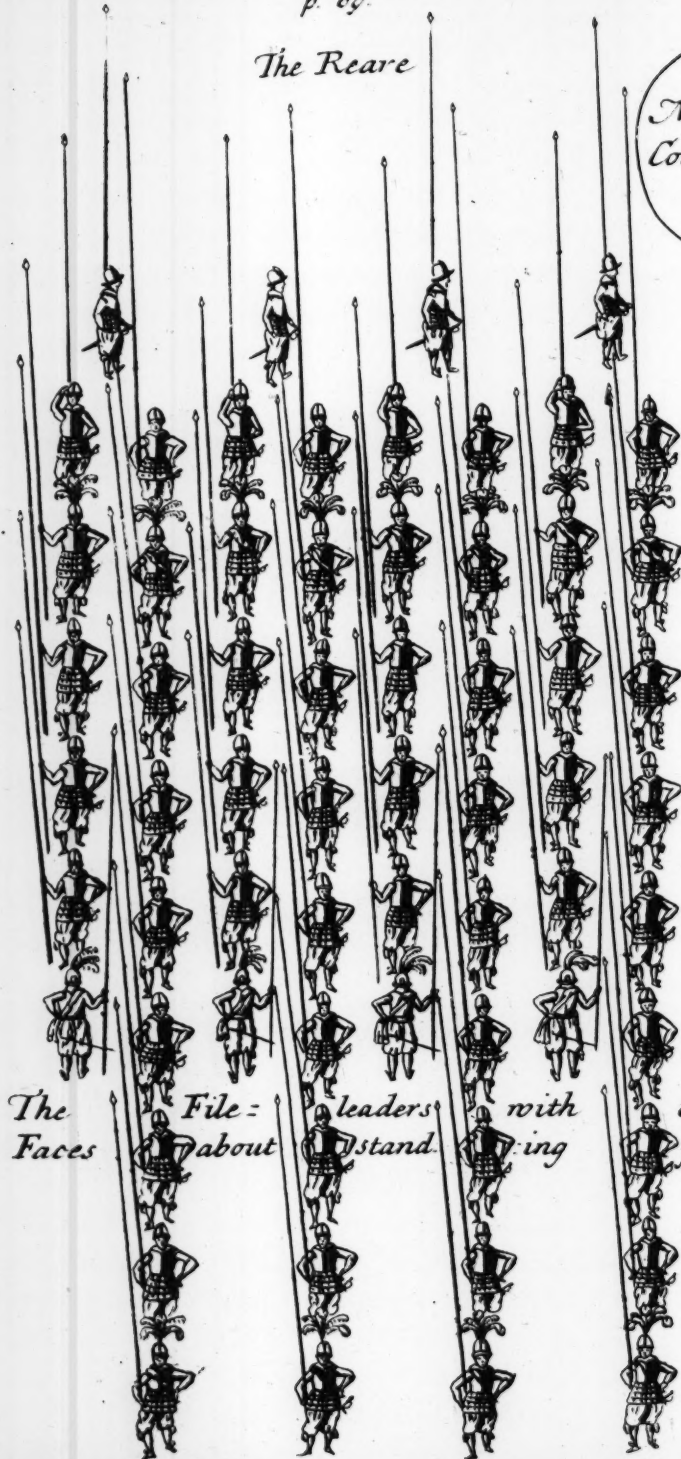
1. Μεταβολή ἐπ' ἄρσεν, whereby they turn'd from Front to Rear, which is term'd ἄρσεν, so that their Backs were toward their Enc-

(a) *Aristotelis Topic. lib. I. Quintilianus lib. V. cap. X. Cicero.*



The Reare

*The
Macedonian
Counter-marche
by File*



*The Faces File = leaders with their
Faces about stand ing firme*

The bringers up dismarching

mies; whence 'tis call'd μεταβολὴ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. It was always effected by turning to the right.

2. Μεταβολὴ ἀπ' ὀπίσθεν, or ὀπίσθεν πολεμίων, from Rear to Front; whereby they turn'd their Faces to their Enemies, by moving twice to the left.

Επιστροφὴ, when the whole Battalion, close joyn'd Man to Man, made one Turn either to the right, or left.

Αναστροφὴ is oppos'd to Επιστροφὴ, being the Return of such a Battalion to it's former Station.

Περισσυστροφὴ, a double Επιστροφὴ, whereby their Backs were turn'd to the Place of their Faces, the Front being transferr'd to the Place of the Rear.

Εκπερισσυστροφὴ, a treble Επιστροφὴ, or three Wheelings.

Εἰς ὄρθον ἀποδύναι, or ἐπ' ὄρθον ἀποκτασθῆναι, to turn about to the Places they were in at first.

Εξελισμὸς, ἐξελισμός, or ἐξελίξις, Countermarch, whereby every Souldier, one marching after another, chang'd Front for the Rear, or one Flank for another: Whence there are two sorts of Countermarches, κατὰ λόχους, and κατὰ ζυγά, one by Files, the other by Ranks; both are farther divided into three sorts.

1. Εξελισμὸς Μακεδόνων κατὰ λόχους, invented by the *Macedonians*, was thus: First the Leaders of the Files turn'd to the right, or left about, then the next Rank pass'd thro' by them on the same Hand, and, being come into the distant Spaces, plac'd themselves behind the Leaders of their Files, then turn'd about their Faces the same Way: In like manner the third Rank after them, with the fourth, and all the rest, 'till the Bringers up were last, and had turn'd about their Faces, and again taken the Rear of the Battle. Hereby the Army was remov'd into the Ground before the Front, and the Faces of the Souldiers turn'd backward. This appear'd like a Retreat, and was for that reason laid aside by *Philip of Macedon*, who us'd the following Motion in it's stead.

2. Εξελισμὸς Λακωνικὸς κατὰ λόχους, invented by the *Lacedemonians*, was contrary to the former; *That* took up the Ground before the *Phalanx*, *this* the Ground behind it, and the Souldiers Faces turn'd the contrary Way; In *that* the Motion was from Rear to Front, in *this* from Front to Rear. *Ælian* (a) describes it two ways; One was, when the Bringers up first turn'd about their Faces, the next Rank likewise turning their Faces, began the Countermarch, every Man placing himself directly before his Bringer up; the third did the like, and so the rest, 'till the Rank of File-leaders were

(a) Tac. cap. XXVIII. cum *Binghamii* notis.

first. The other Method was, when the Leaders of Files began the Countermarch, every one in their Files following them orderly: Hereby they were brought nearer to their Enemies, and represented a Charge.

3. Εξελιγμός Περσικὸς, or Κρητικὸς, καὶ λόχος, was us'd by the Persians and Cretans; it was sometimes term'd χορείος, because manag'd like the Grecian *chori*, which, being order'd into Files and Ranks, like Souldiers in Battle-array, and moving forward toward the Brink of the Stage, when they could pass no farther, retir'd one thro' the Ranks of another; the whole *chorus* all the Time maintaining the same Space of Ground, they were before possess'd of; wherein this Countermarch differ'd from the two former, in both which the *Phalanx* chang'd it's Place.

Εξελιγμός κατὰ ζυγά, Countermarch by Rank, was contrary to the Countermarch by File: In the Countermarch by File the Motion was in the Depth of the Battalia, the Front moving toward the Rear, or the Rear toward the Front, and succeeding into each other's Place; In this the Motion was in length of the Battalia flank-wise, the Wing either marching into the midst, or quite thro' to the opposit Wing: In doing this, the Souldiers, that stood last in the Flank of the Wing, mov'd first to the contrary Wing, the rest of every Rank following in their Order. It was likewise perform'd three ways:

1. The Macedonian Countermarch began it's Motion at the Corner of the Wing nearest the Enemies upon their appearing at either Flank, and remov'd to the Ground on the Side of the contrary Wing, so resembling a Flight.

2. The Lacedemonian Countermarch, beginning it's Motion in the Wing farthest distant from the Enemy, seiz'd the Ground nearest to them, whereby an Onset was represented.

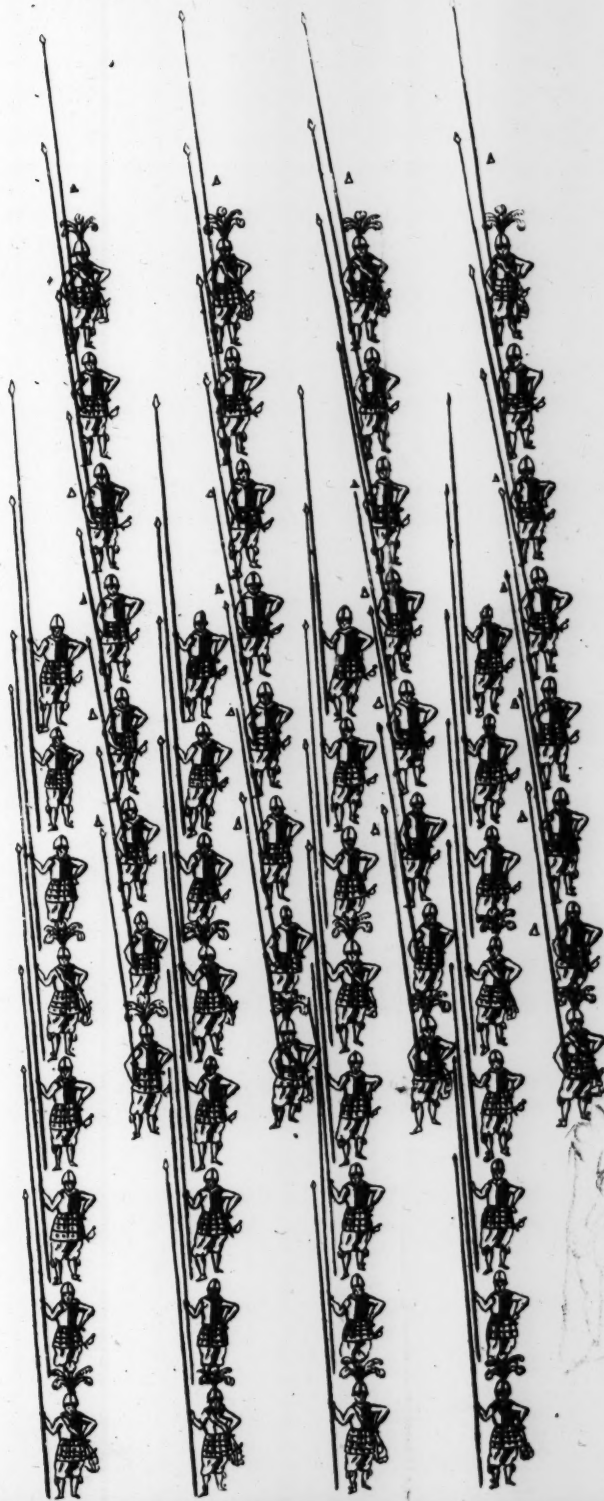
3. The Chorean Countermarch maintain'd it's own Ground, only removing one Wing into the other's Place.

Διπλασιασμός is to double, or increase a Battalia, which was effected two ways; For sometimes the Number of their Men was augmented, remaining still upon the same Space of Ground; sometimes the Souldiers, continuing in the same Number, were so drawn out by thinning their Ranks, or Files, that they took up a much larger Space than before. Both these Augmentations of Men, or Ground, being made either in Length, or Depth, occasion'd four sorts of διπλασιασμοί, which were made by Countermarches.

1. Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ ζυγά, or κατὰ μῆκος, when fresh Men were inserted into Ranks, the Length of the Battalion being still the same, but the Souldiers drawn up closer and thicker than before.

2. Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ λόχος, or κατὰ βάθος, was when

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2. Διπλασιασμὸς ἀνδρῶν κατὰ λόχους, or κατὰ βάθος, was when

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when the Files were doubled, their Ground being of no larger Extent than before, by ranging them close to one another.

3. Διπλασιασμός τότε κατὰ ζυγά, or κατὰ μήκος, when the Length of the Battalia was increas'd, without the Accession of new Forces, by placing the Souldiers at greater Distances from one another.

4. Διπλασιασμός τότε κατὰ λόχους, or κατὰ βάδους, when the Depth of Ground taken up by an Army was render'd greater, not by adding new Files, but separating the old to a greater Distance.

To conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd, that the *Grecians* were excellently skill'd in the Method of imbattelling Armies, and maintain'd publick Professours call'd τακτικοὶ from τὰ πλεῖν, who exercis'd the Youth in this Art, and render'd them expert in all the Forms of Battle, before they adventur'd into the Field.

CHAPTER VII.

Of their manner of making Peace, and declaring War, their Embassadors, &c.

BEFORE the *Grecians* engag'd themselves in War, it was usual to publish a Declaration of the Injuries they had receiv'd, and to demand Satisfaction by Embassadors; For however prepar'd, or excellently skill'd they were in the Affairs of War, yet Peace, if to be procur'd upon honourable Terms, was thought more eligible: Which Custom was observ'd even in the most early Ages, as appears from the Story of *Tydeus*, whom *Polynices* sent to compose the Differences with his Brother *Eteocles* King of *Thebes*, before he proceeded to invest that City, as we are inform'd by *Statius* (a), and several others,

— potior cunctis sedis sementia, fratris
Præsentare fidem, utroque in regna precando
Explorare aditus: Audax ea munera Tydeus
Sponte subit.

The Council then vote it expedient,
That to the King a Legate shou'd be sent,
Who might to prove his Faith the Oath declare,
And stop the Ferment of intestine War;
This Treaty *Tydeus* bravely undertook.

(a) *Thebaid*, lib. II. v. 368.

Nor was the *Trojan* War prosecuted with so great Hazard and Loss to both Parties, 'till these Means prov'd ineffectual; For we find that *Ulysses* and *Menelaus* were dispatch'd on an Embassy for *Troy* to demand Restitution; Whence *Amenor* thus bespeaks *Helen* (a);

Ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ δεῦρ' ἐποτρ' ἦλυθε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
Σεῦ ἔνεκ' Ἀργείης σὺν ἀρρησίλῳ Μενελάῳ.

With stout *Atrides* sage *Ulysses* came
Hither as Envoies, *Helen*, thee to claim.

The same Poet in another Place lets us understand, that their Proposal was rejected by the *Trojans* as over-rul'd by *Antimachus*, a Person of great Repute amongst them, whom *Paris* had engag'd to his Party by a large Summ of Money (b);

Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, ὅς ῥα μάλιστα
Χρυσὸν Ἀλεξάνδροιο δεδωγμένος, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
Οὐκ εἶσαχ' Ἐλένῳ δῶναι ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

Antimachus o'erstay'd the Embassy
Refus'd, and did fair *Helena* deny,
Since *Paris* had by Largeſſes of Gold
Secur'd his Trust.

Invasions, indeed, without Notice were look'd on rather as Robberies than lawfull Wars, as design'd rather to spoil and make a Prey of Persons innocent and unprovided, than to repair any Losses, or Dammitages sustain'd, which, for ought the Invaders knew, might have been satisfy'd for an easier Way. 'Tis therefore no Wonder, what *Polybius* (c) relates of the *Aetolians*, that they were held for the common Out-laws and Robbers of *Greece*, it being their Manner to strike without Warning, and make War without any previous and publick Declaration, whenever they had Opportunity of enriching themselves with the Spoil and Booty of their Neighbours. Yet there wants not Instances of Wars begun without previous Notice, even by Nations of better Repute for Justice and Humanity; But this was not ordinary, being only done upon Provocations so great and exasperating, that no Recompence was thought sufficient to atone for them: Whence it came to pass, that these Wars were of all others the most bloody and pernicious, and fought with Excess of Rage and Fury; the contesting Parties being resolv'd to extirpate each other, if possible, out of the World.

Embassadors were usually Persons of great Worth, or eminent Station, that by their Quality and Deportment they might com-

(a) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 205. (b) *Iliad*. κ'. v. 124. (c) *Lib*. IV.

man's Respect and Attention from their very Enemies; And by what Injuries, or Affronts soever they were enrag'd; yet Embassadors were held sacred by all Sides, and receiv'd no Harm without violating the Laws of Gods and Men, for they thought themselves oblig'd to prosecute with utmost Vengeance so great an Impiety: Whence (to omit several other Instances) we read that the *Lacedemonians* having inhumanly murder'd *Xerxes's* Embassadors, the Gods would accept none of their Oblations and Sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direfull Omens, 'till two Noblemen of *Sparta* were sent as an expiatory Sacrifice to *Xerxes* to atone for the Death of his Embassadors by their own: That Emperour indeed gave them Leave to return in safety without any other Ignominy, than what they suffer'd by a severe Reflection on the *Spartan* Nation, whose barbarous Cruelty he profess'd he would not imitate, however provok'd by them; Yet Divine Vengeance suffer'd them not to go unpunish'd, but inflicted what those Men had assum'd to themselves, upon their Sons, for being sent on an Embassy into *Asia*, they were betray'd into the Hands of the *Athenians*, and by them put to Death, which my Authour concludes to have been a just Revenge from Heaven for the *Lacedemonian* Cruelty (a).

Whence this Holiness was deriv'd upon Embassadors, has been matter of Dispute: Fabulous Authours deduce it from the Honour paid by the Ancients to the *κέρυκες*, or Heralds, who were either themselves Embassadors, or, when others were deputed to that Service, accompany'd them, being held sacred on the account of their Original, because descended from *Ceryx*, the Son of *Mercury*, who was honour'd with the same Employment in Heaven, these obtain'd upon Earth: 'Tis true that these Men were ever had in great Esteem, and their Persons held sacred and inviolable; whence, as *Enstathius* observes, *Ulysses* in *Homer*, when cast upon foreign and unknown Coasts, usually sends an Herald to protect the Men deputed to make Discovery of the Country and it's Inhabitants, Persons of that Character being reverenc'd even in barbarous Nations, except some few, such as the *Lestrygonæ*, or *Cyclopes*, in whom all Senice of Humanity was extinguish'd (b); They were likewise under the Care and Protection of *Mercury* the President God of their Occupation, and *Jupiter* (c); whence *Achilles* calls them the *Messengers* not of Men only, but of *Jupiter* (d);

Χαίρετε, κέρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι, ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

All Hail! ye *Envoies* of great *Jove* and Men.

But these Honours seem not to have been conferr'd upon them so much, because they were descended from *Mercury*, (several other

(a) *Herodorus Polymn.* cap. CXXXIV. (b) *Enstathius Iliad.* α'. p. 83, 84. Ed. Basil. (c) *Idem Iliad.* κ'. p. 729. (d) *Iliad.* α'.

Families, to whom no such Respect was due, bearing themselves much higher on their Original) as upon account of their Office, which, being common to them with other Embassadors, seems to have challeng'd an equal Reverence to both: Licence, indeed, being once granted to treat Persons of that Character injuriously, all Hopes of Peace and Reconciliation amongst Enemies must be banish'd for ever out of the World; and therefore in the most rude and unpolish'd Ages all sorts of Embassadors were civilly entertain'd, and dismiss'd with Safety: Whence *Tydeus's* Lady in *Stations* (a) is prevail'd with to let her Husband go Embassador to *Thebes*, because that Title would afford him Protection in the Midst of his Enemies;

Te, fortissime gentis
Ætolum, multum lacrymis conata morari est
Deiphile, sed iussa patris, tutique regressus
 Legato, iustaque preces vicere sororis.

Thy tender Wife, *Heroic* Soul, did pine,
 And scarce admit thy generous Delign,
 Untill her boiling Passion did abate
 By *Argia's* Prayers, and a Parent's Threat,
 And that *Tutelar* God, who do's on Envoies wait.

The *Athenian* Heralds were all of one Family, being descended from *Ceryx* the Son of *Mercury*, and *Pandrosus* Daughter to *Cecrops* King of *Athens*

The *Lacedemonian* Heralds were all descended from *Talthybius*, *Agamemnon's* Herald, who was honour'd with a Temple, and Divine Worship at *Sparta* (b).

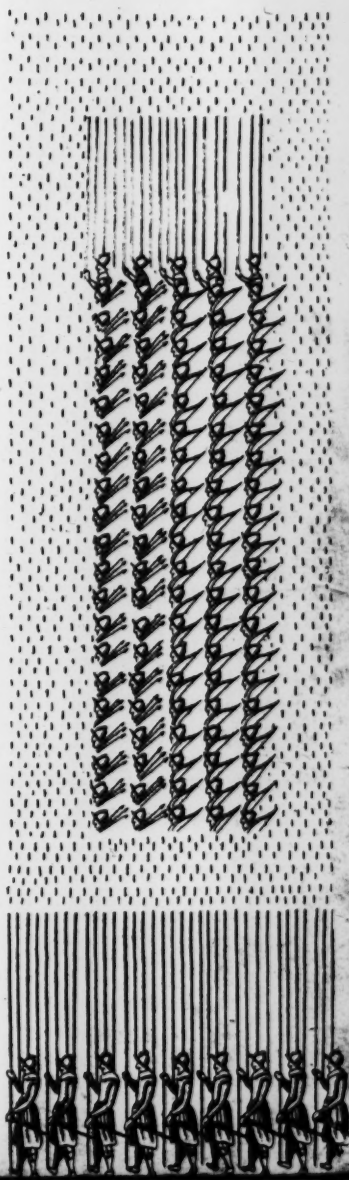
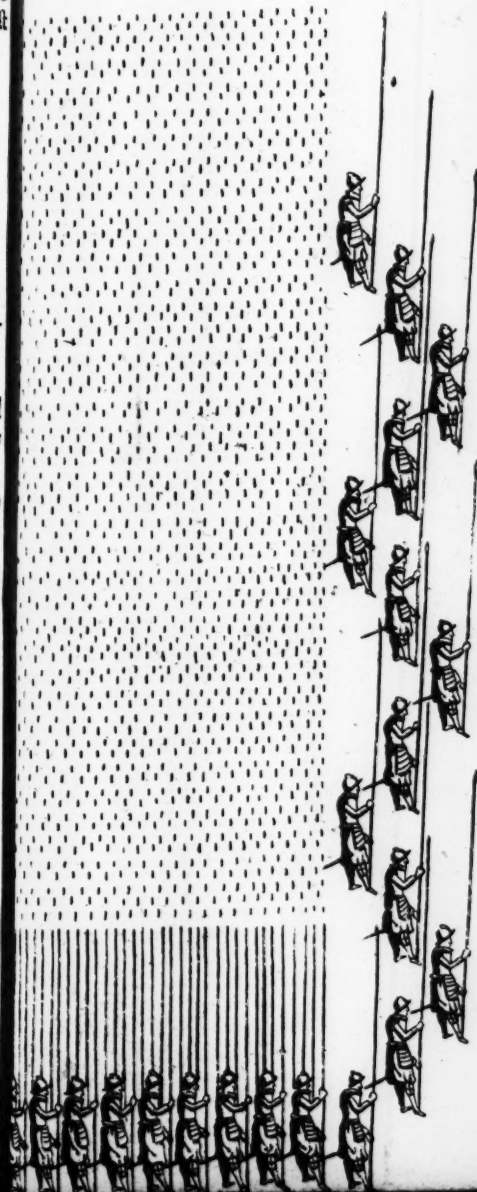
They carry'd in their Hands a Staff of Lawrel, or Olive, call'd *κηρύκειον*, round which two Serpents, without their Crests erected, were folded, as an Emblem of Peace and Concord (c). Instead of this the *Athenian* Heralds frequently made use of the *Εἰρησάκνυς*, which was a Token of Peace and Plenty, being an Olive-branch cover'd with Wool, and adorn'd with all Sorts of Fruits of the Earth.

Κήρυκες, or Heralds, are by some thought to differ from *ἀπείροτες*, or Embassadors, in this; That Embassadors were employ'd in Treaties of Peace, whereas Heralds were sent to declare War (d): But this Distinction is not constant, or perpetual, the *κηρύκες* being frequently taken for Persons commission'd to treat about accommodating Differences, which may appear, as from some of the

(a) *Thebaid* lib. II. v. 371. (b) *Herodotus* loc. citat. *Pausanias* *Laconicis*. (c) *Flinius* lib. XXIX cap. III. (d) *Suidas*.

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fore-cited Places of *Eustathius*, so from several Passages in *Homer*, and other Authors.

Embassadors were of two sorts, being either sent with a limited Commission, which they were not to exceed, or invested with full Power of determining Matters according to their own Discretion. The former were liable to be call'd in Question for their Proceedings; The latter were subject to no after-reckoning, but wholly their own Masters, and for that reason styl'd *Πρόξενος* *ἀντοκράτορες*, Plenipotentiaries (a).

It may be observ'd, that the *Lacedemonians*, as in most other Things their Customs were different from the rest of their Country-men, so likewise in their Choice of Embassadors had this peculiar, that for the most part they deputed Men, between whom there was no very good Correspondence; supposing it most improbable, that such Persons should so far trust one another, as to conspire together against the Common-wealth: for the same reason, it was thought a piece of Policy in that State to raise Dissensions between their Kings (b).

Their Leagues were of three sorts: 1. A bare *σπονδή, συνθήκη, εἰρήνη*, or Peace, whereby both Parties were oblig'd to cease from all Acts of Hostility, and neither to molest one another, nor the Confederates of either.

2. *Εμπλαχία*, whereby they oblig'd themselves to assist one another in case they should be invaded.

3. *Συμμαχία*, whereby they covenanted to assist one another as well when they made Invasions upon others, as when themselves were invaded, and to have the same Friends and Enemies (c).

All these Covenants were solemnly confirm'd by mutual Oaths, the manner of which I have already describ'd in a former Book (d): To the end, they might lye under a greater Obligation to preserve them inviolate, we find it customary to engrave them upon Tables, which they fix'd up at Places of general Concourse, that all the World might be Witnesses of their Justice and Fidelity: Thus we find the Articles of Treaty between *Athens* and *Sparta* not only publish'd in those Cities, but at the Places where the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, and *Isthmian* Games were celebrated (e). Farther, to continue the Remembrance of mutual Agreements fresh in their Minds, it was not uncommon for States thus united, interchangeably to send Embassadors, who, on some appointed Day, when the People assembled in great Numbers, should openly repeat, and by mutual Consent confirm their former Treaty: This we find practis'd by the *Athenians* and *Spartans* after their fore-mention'd

(a) Vide *Archæolog* nostr. lib. I. cap. XV. (b) *Aristoteles* Politic. lib. II. (c) *Suidas*. (d) Lib II. cap. VI. (e) *Thucydides* de Bello *Peloponnes.*

League, the *Spartan* Embassadors presenting themselves at *Athens* upon the Festival of *Bacchus*, and the *Athenians* at *Sparta* on the Festival of *Hyacinthus*.

Their manner of declaring War was to send an Herald, who bid the Persons that had injur'd them to prepare for an Invasion, and sometimes in token of Defiance cast a Spear towards them. The *Athenians* frequently let loose a Lamb into their Enemies Territories; signifying thereby, that what was then an Habitation for Men, should be laid wast and desolate, and become a Pasture for Sheep (a).

This was rarely done without the Advice and Encouragement of the Gods; the Soothsayers, and all sorts of Diviners were consulted, the Oracles enrich'd with Presents, and no Charge, or Labour spar'd to engage Heaven (so they imagin'd) to their Party: Instances of this kind are almost as common as the Declarations of War, which was never undertaken before the Gods had been consulted about the Issue: Nor was the Verdict of a single Deity thought sufficient, for in Wars of great Moment and Consequence, whereon the Safety of their Country and Liberties depended, they had Recourse to the whole Train of prophetic Divinities, soliciting all with earnest Prayers lifted up to Heaven on the Wings of costly Offerings and magnificent Presents, to favour them with wholesom Counsell. A remarkable Example whereof we have in *Craesus* before he declar'd War against the *Persians*, when not content with the Answers of his own Gods, and all the celebrated Oracles in *Greece*, in consulting which he had lavishly profus'd vast Quantities of Treasure, he dispatch'd Embassadors as far as *Libya* loaden with Wealth, to ask Advice of *Jupiter Hammon* (b).

When they were resolv'd to begin the War, it was customary to offer Sacrifices and make large Vows to be paid upon the Success of their Enterprize. Thus when *Darius* invaded *Attica*, *Calimachus* made a Vow to *Minerva*, that, if she would vouchsafe the *Athenians* Victory, he would sacrifice upon her Altars as many He-goats, as should equal the Number of the slain among their Enemies: Nor was this Custom peculiar to *Greece*, but frequently practis'd in most other Countries: Many Instances occur in the Histories of *Rome*, *Persia*, &c. The *Jews* likewise were acquainted therewith, as may appear from *Jephthah's* Vow, when he undertook to be Captain over *Israel* against the *Ammonites* (c).

After all these Preparations, tho' the Posture of Affairs appear'd never so inviting, it was held no less impious than dangerous to march against their Enemies, 'till the Season favour'd their Enterprize: For being extremely superstitious in the Observation of

(a) *Diogenian*. Collect. Prov. *Snidas*, &c. (b) *Herodotus* lib. I. (c) *Judith* cap. XI. v. 30.

Omens, and Days, 'till those became fortunate, they durst not make any Attempts upon their Enemies: An Eclipse of the Moon, or any other of those they esteem'd unlucky Accidents, was enough to deterr them from Marching: And if all other Things promis'd Success, yet they defer'd their Expedition 'till one of the Days, they look'd on as fortunate, invited them to it. The *Athenians* could not be perswaded to march *ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ*. before the seventh (a); which gave Occasion to the Proverb, whereby Persons, that undertook any Business unseasonably and before the proper Time, were said to do it *ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ* (b). But the *Lacedemonians* were of all others the most nice and scrupulous in these Observations; their Law-giver having commanded them to pay a critical and inviolate Obedience to the Celestial Predictions, and to regulate all their Proceedings as well in Civil, as Military Affairs by the Constitution of the Heavenly Bodies: Amongst the rest they were oblig'd by a particular Precept never to march before the full Moon (c); For that Planet was believ'd to have a supernatural and extraordinary Influence upon their Affairs, to bless them with Success, when it self was in the Height of it's Splendour, but, 'till it was arriv'd there, to neglect, or suffer them to be blasted for want of Power to send Assistance: So constant a Belief of this had they entertain'd, that the greatest Necessity could not prevail upon them to alter their Measures; For when the *Athenians* were like to fall into the Hands of *Darius*, and sent to implore their Assistance, they agree'd indeed to send them a Supply of Men, but, rather than march before full Moon, forc'd them to run the hazard of a decisive Battle, and with a small and appearingly inconsiderable Hand-full of Souldiers to encounter an hundred-thousand *Medians* (d).

CHAPTER VIII.

Of their Camps, Guards, Watches, and Military course of Life.

OF the Form of the *Grecian* Camps nothing exact and constant can be deliver'd, that being not always the same, but vary'd, as the Custom, or Humour of different States, or the Conveniencies of Place and Time requir'd. The *Lacedemonians*, indeed, are said to have been prescrib'd a constant Method of building Towns, and encamping by their Law-giver,

(a) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Equit. Hefschius.* (b) *Zenobius.* (c) *Lucianus Astrolog.* (d) *Herodotus lib. VI.*

who thought a Spherical Figure the best fitted for Defence (a); which was contrary to the Custom of the *Romans*, whose Camps were Quadrangular; but all Forms of that sort were rejected by *Lycurgus*, the Angles being neither fit for Service, nor defensible, unless guarded by a River, Mountain, Wall, or some such Fortification. It is farther observable of the *Lacedemonians*, that they frequently mov'd their Camps, being accusom'd vigorously to prosecute all their Enterprizes, impatient of Delays and tedious Procrastinations, and utterly averse from passing their Time without Action: Wherefore the reason of this being demanded of *Lycurgus*, he reply'd that " 'Twas that they might do greater Damage "to their Enemies (b)": To which *Xenophon* adds a second, " That "they might give more early Relief to their Friends (c)".

Of the rest of the *Grecian* Camps it may be observ'd, that the valiantest of the Souldiers were plac'd at the Extremities, the rest in the Middle; that the stronger might be a Guard to the weaker, and sustain the first Onsets, if the Enemy should endeavour to force their Entrenchments. Thus we find *Achilles* and *Ajax* posted at the Ends of the *Grecian* Camp before *Troy*, as Bulwarks on each Side the rest of the Princes, who had their Tents in the Middle, as we learn from *Homer* (d);

Στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσῆος μεγαλήτεϊ νηϊ μελαίνῃ,
 Ἡ ῥ' ἐν μεσάτῳ ἔσκει, γηρονέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσθε,
 Ἡ μὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίῃς Τελαμωνιάδαο,
 Ἡ δ' ἐπ' Ἀχίλλῃος· τοῖ ῥ' ἔχαται νῆας εἴσας
 Εἵρυσαν, ἠνορέν ἠΐσωσι, καὶ καρτεῖ χερσῶν.

Atrides stood i'th' Midst o' th' Fleet, hard by
 Where th' *Odysean* high-built Ship did lie,
 That all his Orders equally might hear,
 As far as *Ajax's* on one Side, as far
 As *Peleus Son's* o' th' other, for they were
 At each Extremity like Fortresses.

When they design'd to continue long in their Encampments, they contriv'd a Place, where Altars were erected to the Gods, and all Parts of Divine Service solemnly perform'd; In the same Place publick Assemblies were call'd together, when the General had any Thing to communicate to his Souldiers; and Courts of Justice were held, wherein all Controversies among the Souldiers were decided, and Criminals sentenc'd to Punishment: Which Custom was as ancient as the *Trojan* War, and is mention'd by *Homer* (e);

(a) *Xenophon* De Rep. *Laced.* (b) *Plutarchus* Apophthegmat. *Laconic.* (c) *Lo-*
co citato. (d) *Iliad* i'. v. 222. Item *Sophocles Ajax*, usque *Scholia*stes *Tricli-*
nus v. 4. (e) *Iliad*. x'. v. 806.

κατὰ νῆας Οδυσῆος θεῖοιο

Ἰξε θεῶν Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε, δέμους τε
ἦλω, τῇ δὴ καὶ σφὶ θεῶν ἐτετεύχματο βωμοί.

Sweating to th' *Ulyssæan* Ships he came,
Where their Assemblies, and their Courts were held,
And the Gods worship'd.——

When they were in Danger of having their Camp attack'd, it was usual to fortify it with a Trench and Rampire, or Wall, on the Sides whereof they erected Turrets not unlike those upon the Walls of Cities, out of which they annoy'd their Enemies with missive Weapons. Thus the *Grecians* in *Homer* were forc'd to defend themselves in the ninth Year of the *Trojan* War, when *Achilles* refus'd to assist them, whereas 'till that Time they had wanted no Fortifications, but immur'd the *Trojans* within their own Walls: The Poet has thus describ'd their Works (a);

τείχεσσι δὲ δειμαν,
Πύργους δ' ὑψηλούς, εἰλαρ νηῶν τε, καὶ αὐτῶν.
Ὡς δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποιέον ἐν ἀραρυίας,
Ὅρρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἱππιπλασίονος εἶναι.
Ἐκποδὲν δ' βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τάφρον ὄρυξαν,
Εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπιπταν.

A thick, substantial Wall of vast Extent
They rais'd with Turrets, as a Muniment
To them and th' Fleet, and that there might a Way
Be for their Cavalry upon Survey,
They fram'd great Gates, the Wall too they intrench'd
With Stakes infix'd.——

The manner of living in Camps depended upon the Disposition of their Generals, some of which allow'd their Souldiers in all sorts of Excess and Debauchery; others oblig'd them to the strictest Rules of Temperance and Sobriety; a remarkable Instance whereof we have in *Philip* of *Macedon*, who (as *Polyænus* reports) condemn'd two of his Souldiers to Banishment for no other Offence, than because he had found them with a Singing-woman in his Camp. But the *Grecian* Discipline was not always so severe and rigid, as may appear from *Plutarch* (b), who tells us, that the *Lacedæmonians* alone of all the *Grecians* had no Stage-players, no

(a) *Iliad*. v. 436. (b) *Cicero* p. 810. Edit. Paris. & *Lycæ*.

Juglers, no dancing or Singing-women attending them, but were free from all sorts of Debauchery and Loofness, of gaudy Pomp and Foppery; The young Men, when commanded nothing by their General, were always employ'd in some Exercise, or manly Study, the old were busy'd in giving Instructions, or receiving them from Persons more skillfull than themselves, and their looser Hours were diverted with their usual Drollery, and rallying one another facetiously after the *Laconick* Fashion: Yet their Law-giver allow'd them greater Liberty in the Camp, than at other Times, to invite them to serve with Delight in the Wars; For, whilst they were in the Field, their Exercises were more moderate than at Home, their Fare not so hard, nor so strict a Hand kept over them by their Governours; so that they were the only People in the World, to whom War gave Repose. They were likewise allow'd to have costly Arms, and fine Cloaths, and frequently perfum'd themselves, and curl'd their Hair; Whence we read that *Xerxes* was struck with Admiration, when his Scouts brought him Word, the *Lacedemonian* Guards were at Gymnical Sports, and curling their Hair (a).

Their Guards may be distinguish'd into φυλακαὶ ἡμεριναὶ and γυμναστειναὶ: the first were upon Duty by Day, the other by Night. At several Hours in the Night certain Officers call'd ἀειπολοὶ did ἀειπολεῖν, or walk round the Camp, and visit the Watch; to try whether any of them were asleep, they had a little Bell, term'd κώδων, at the Sound of which the Souldiers were to answer (b): Whence to go this Circuit was call'd κωδωνίζειν, and κωδωνοφορεῖν,

κωδωνοφορεῖται, πανταχῇ
φυλακαὶ κατέστηκασι.

Hence also κωδωνίζειν is us'd for πειράζειν, to try, or prove (c); and ἀκωδωνιστος for ἀπειραστος, untry'd, or unprov'd (d). This Custom furnish'd *Brasidas* with an Advantage against *Potidea* in the *Peloponnesian* War; For, having observ'd the Sounding of the Bell to be over, he took his Opportunity, before the Bell's Return to set up Ladders in an unguarded Place of the Wall, and so enter'd the City (e).

The *Lacedemonian* Watch were not permitted to have their Bucklers, that, being unable to defend themselves, they might be more cautious how they fell asleep. To which Custom *Tzetzes* alludes in one of his *Historical Chiliads* (f);

(a) *Herodotus* lib. VII. cap. CCVIII & CCIX. (b) *Suidas*. (c) *Aristophanes* *Batrachos*. (d) *Idem* *Lyssistrate*. (e) *Thucydides* lib. IV. (f) *Chiliad*. IX. Hist. CCLXXVI.

Ποτὲ καὶ τῆς ἑστρατηγῶν μᾶλλον φρονέοντων πάντας
Γυμνὰς ἀσπίδων ἀνευθε τὴς φύλακας ἔωσεν,
Ὅπως ἐπαγρυπνότερα τὴν φύλακὴν ποιεῖνται,
Καὶ μὴ διαγένησάντις αὐταῖς εἰς ὕπνον ἐκτραπῶσιν.

One of the Gen'als once more eminent
In Strategems and warlike Policy
Gave out, that all the Guards should march *unarm'd*
With Bucklers, to secure them vigilant,
Lest they supinely negligent should sleep.

The rest of the *Spartan* Souldiers were oblig'd to take their Rest
arm'd, that they might be prepar'd for Battle upon any Alarm (a).

It may be farther observ'd of the *Spartans*, that they kept a double Watch; One within their Camp, to observe their Allies, lest they should make a sudden Defection; The other upon some Eminence, or other Place, whence there was a good Prospect, to watch the Motions of their Enemies (b).

How often the Guards were reliev'd doth not appear; as neither whether it was done at set and constant Times, or according to the Commander's Pleasure. Φυλακή indeed, which signifies a Watch, is frequently taken for the fourth Part of the Night, answering to the *Roman Vigilæ*; as appears from several Places of the *New Testament*, as well as other Authors; But it seems to have this Signification rather from the *Roman*, than *Grecian* Watches, those being chang'd four Times every Night, *that is*, every third Hour, (computing the Night from six to six, or rather from Sun to Sun) for the Time between the two Suns was divided into twelve equal Parts, which were not always the same, like our Hours, but greater, or less, according to the Season of the Year; and are therefore by Astronomers term'd *unequal* and *planetary Hours*.

CHAPTER IX.

Of their Battles, the General's Harangues, the Sacrifices, Musick, Signals, Ensigns, the Word, and Way of ending Wars by single Combat, &c.

BEFORE they joyn'd Battle, the Souldiers always refresh'd themselves with Victuals, eating and drinking plentifully: Which Custom with it's Reasons we have largely accounted

(a) *Xenophon.* (b) *Idem.*

for in *Ulysses's* elegant Oration to *Achilles* (a), where he advises the young General by no means to lead out the Army fasting:

Μηδ' ἔπως ἀχαιῶς περ ἐὼν, θεοείκαλ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
 Νήστας ὅτρωε πορπὶ Ἰλιον ἵας Αἰαίων
 Τρωσὶ μαχεσθιμύνας, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔσται
 Φύλοπις, οὗτ' ἂν πρῶτον ὁμιλήσωσι φάλαγγες
 Ἀνδρῶν, ἐν δὲ θεὸς πνεύσει μένος ἀμφοτέροισιν·
 Ἀλλὰ πάσασθαι ἀνωχθεὶ δοῆς ὅππῃ νηυσὶν Αἰαίης
 Σίτε καὶ οἶνοιο, τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή·
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πρῶπαν ἡμᾶρ ἐς ἡέλιον καταδυῖτα
 Αἰμύλωσθ' ὅτιοιο διωθήσεται ἅντα μάχεσθαι·
 Εἴπερ γὰρ θυμῶ γε μαινομένα πολέμειζεν,
 Ἀλλὰ τε λάθρη γῆα βαρύνεται, ἥδ' ἐκ κινεῖται
 Δίψα τε, καὶ λιμός, βλάβεται δὲ τε γένατ' ἰόντι.
 Ος δὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ οἶνοιο κορυσαίμενός τε καὶ ἐδάδῃς
 Ἀνδράσι δυσμυθέοσι πανηγυρείοις πολέμειζεν,
 Θαρσαλέον νύ οἱ ἦτορ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἐδὲ τι γῆα
 Πλεῖν χέμνει πλεῖν πάντας ἐραῖός τε πολέμοιο.

Noble *Achilles*, tho' with martial Rage
 Thy gen'rous Mind is fir'd thy Foes t' engage,
 Let not thy valiant Troops to *Troy* repair,
 There to sustain the great Fatigues of War,
 Before brisk Wines and Viands animate
 Their Souls with Vigour to repel their Fate,
 That *Troy* to their embattel'd Force may yield,
 And with amazing Terroure quit the Field;
 For such is th' Energy of sparkling Juyce
 With such Heroick Zeal it warms, such Prowess doth infuse:
 No Man hath Pu'ssance the whole Day to fight,
 'Till the *Phebean* Carr brings on the Night,
 Unless rich Wine and wholesom Food prepare
 His Courage for the Dust and Din of War;
 His strenuous Limbs then Marches undergo,
 And he with dauntless Rage assails the Foe;
 Inflaming Wine incites his Fury on,
 And thus he'll venture 'till the Battle's won.

Mr. *Abell*.

We are told also by *Livy*, that the *Romans* thought this a Preparative absolutely necessary, and never omitted it before Engagements (b).

(a) *Iliad*. τ. v. 155. (b) *Lib*. IX.

This done, the Commanders marshall'd the Army in order to an Engagement: In which Art the *Grecians* were far inferiour to the *Romans*; for drawing up their whole Army, as it were, into one Front, they trusted the Success of the Day to a single Force; whereas the *Romans*, ranging their *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii* in distinct Bodies behind one another, were able after the Defeat of their first Body twice to renew the Battle, and could not be entirely routed, 'till they had lost three several Victories. Yet something not unlike this we find practis'd as long since as the *Trojan War*, where old *Nestor* is said to have plac'd a Body of Horse in the Front, behind these the most infirm of the Foot, and, last of all, such of them as surpass'd the rest in Strength and Valour (a);

Ἰππῆας μὲν ὡς ἔφατον οὐδ' ἵπποισιν ἢ ὄχεσφι,
Πεζὺς δ' ἐξόπιδεν σῆσεν πολέας τε, ἢ ἐδύλως,
Ἔρκος ἔμειν πολέμοιο· χακὺς δ' ἐς μέσσην ἔλασεν,
Ὀρεα ἢ ἐκ ἐδέλων τις ἀναγκάη πολέμῳ.

Nestor the Horse plac'd first in all the Host,
Ith' Rear the Infantry maintain'd their Post,
Such as he had detach'd from all the rest,
For Courage, Hardship, and for Strength the best:
And to prevent that none shou'd run away
Ith' Midst of all were order'd in Aray
The rude, th' infirm, the inexpert.—

Mr. *Abell*.

Where tho' some interpret τὸ ὡς ἔφατον, and τὸ ἐξόπιδεν of the right and left Wings, and others several other Ways, yet the most natural and genuine Sence of the Poet seems to be, that they were drawn up behind one another (b).

At this Time the General made an Oration to his Souldiers, wherein with all the Motives suitable on such Occasions he exhorted them to exert their utmost Force and Vigour against the Enemy: And so wonderfull was the Success, that attended these Performances, that many times, when Affairs were in a declining, and almost desperate Condition, the Souldiers, animated with fresh Life and Courage, have instantly retriev'd them, and repuls'd those very Enemies, by whom themselves had before been defeated: Several of these Instances may be found in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Histories, few of which are more remarkable than that of *Tyræus* the lame *Athenian* Poet, to whom the Command of the *Spartan* Army, was given by the Advice of an Oracle in one of the *Messe-*

(a) *Iliad*. N. v. 297. (b) *Plutarchus* lib. de *Homero*.

man Wars; The *Spartans* had at that Time suffer'd great Losses in many Encounters, and all their Strategems prov'd ineffectual, so that they began to despair almost of Success, when the Poet by his Lectures of Honour and Courage, deliver'd in moving Verse to the Army, ravish'd them to such a Degree with the Thoughts of dying for their Country, that, rushing on with a furious Transport to meet their Enemies, they gave them an entire Overthrow, and by one decisive Battle put an happy Conclusion to the War (a).

Before they adventur'd to joyn their Enemies, they endeavour'd by Prayers, Sacrifices, and Vows to engage Heaven to their Assistance, and sung an Hymn to *Mars*, call'd *παῦλον ἐμβατήριον*, as that sung to *Apollo* after a prosperous Battle, was term'd *παῦλον ὀρνιθικόν* (b). The *Lacedemonians* had a peculiar Custom of sacrificing to the *Muses*, which was either design'd to soften and mollify their passionate Transports, it being their Custom to enter the Battle calm and sedate (c); or to animate them to perform noble and Heroical Exploits, deserving to be transmitted by those Goddesses to Posterity (d). The Soothsayers inspected all the Sacrifices to preface the Success of the Battle; And 'till the Omens prov'd favourable, they rather chose tamely to resign their Lives to the Enemy, than to defend themselves. The *Spartans* especially were above Measure addicted to this Superstition; For in the famous Battle at *Plateæ*, when *Mardonius* the *Persian* General had fall'n upon the *Grecians*, *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, who at that Time commanded the *Grecian* Army, offering Sacrifice, found it not acceptable to the Gods, and thereupon commanded his *Lacedemonians*, laying down their Bucklers at their Feet, patiently to abide his Commands; The Priests offer'd one Sacrifice after another, but all without Success, the *Barbarians* all the Time charging upon them, and wounding and slaying them in their Ranks, 'till at length *Pausanias* turning himself towards the Temple, with Hands lifted up to Heaven, and Tears in his Eyes, besought *Juno* of *Cithæron*, and the rest of the Tutelar Deities of the *Plateans*, that if the Fates would not favour the *Grecians* with Victory, they would grant at least, that by some remarkable Exploit they might demonstrate to their Enemies, that they wag'd War with Men of true Courage and Bravery: These Prayers were no sooner finish'd, when the Sacrifices appearing propitious, the Signal was given, and they fell with Resolution upon the *Persians*, and in a short Time entirely defeated their whole Army (e).

Their Signals are commonly divided into *σύμβολα*, and *σημεῖα*,

(a) *Pausanias Messeniacis*, *Diodorus Sic.* lib. XV. *Justin.* lib. III. (b) *Thucyd.* Schol. lib. I. &c. (c) *Plutarchus* *in* *ἑλ. ἀποργίας*. (d) *Idem* *Lycurgo*. (e) *Idem* *Aristide*.

which Words sometimes indeed are us'd promiscuously, but in Propriety of Speech are distinguish'd.

Σύμβολα were of two kinds, either φωνικά, or ὀρατά, i. e. pronounc'd by the Mouth, or visible to the Eye: The first are term'd σιωδήματα, the later εἰδωσιμὰ.

Σιωδήματα, in Latin *Tessera*, or the *Word*, communicated by the General to the subordinate Officers, by them to the whole Army, as a Mark of Distinction to know Friends from Enemies (a). It commonly contain'd some good Omen, or the Name of some Deity worship'd by their Country, or General, and from whom they expected Success in their Enterprizes. Cyrus, for example, us'd Ζεὺς σύμμαχος, ἡμεῶν, or σωτὴρ (b); Caesar, Venus genitrix (c); Augustus, Apollo (d): But this Custom often prov'd of fatal and pernicious Consequence; for by frequently questioning one another they bred Confusion among themselves, and (which was no less dangerous) discover'd their *Word* to the Enemies; As we find happening in the Fight between the Athenians and Syracusians, spoken of by Thucydides (e): It became likewise the Occasion of several mischievous Stratagems, one of which we find practis'd by an Arcadian Captain in a War with Lacedæmon; when engaging in the Night, all the *Tessera* he gave his Souldiers was, that they should forthwith kill whoever demanded the *Word*; whereby they easily distinguish'd, and slew the Spartans, themselves being undiscover'd, and therefore secure (f).

Παρασιώδημα was a visible Character of Distinction, as nodding their Heads, waving their Hands, clashing their Weapons, or such like (g).

Σημεῖα were Ensigns, or Flags, the Elevation whereof was a Signal to joyn Battle, the Depression to desist (h). Of these there were different sorts, several of which were adorn'd with Images of Animals, or other Things bearing peculiar Relations to the Cities they belong'd to; The Athenians, for instance, bore an Owl in their Ensigns (i), as being sacred to Minerva, the Protectress of their City: The Thebans a Sphinx (k); in memory of the famous Monster overcome by Oedipus: The Persians paid Divine Honours to the Sun, and therefore represent'd him in their Ensigns (l).

The σημεῖον was frequently a Purple Coat upon the Top of a Spear, as appears of Canon's in Polyænus, and Cleomenes's in Plutarch: Nor was it uncommon to use other Colours; Polybius speak-

(a) Glossographi. (b) Xenophon Κύρου παρὰ lib. VII. (c) Appianus Bell. Civ. lib. II. (d) Valerius Maximus lib. I. cap. V. (e) Lib. VII. (f) Polyænus lib. I. (g) Onofander Strateg. cap. XXVI. (h) Suidas, Thucydides Schol. lib. I. (i) Plutarchus Iysandro. (k) Idem Pelopida, Cornelius Nepos Epaminonda. (l) Curtius lib. III.

ing of the Fight between *Anigonus* and *Cleomenes* (a) tells us; "That the *Illyrians*, having Orders to begin the Battle, were to receive a Signal by a white Flag, that should be spread from the nearest Post to *Olympus*; But the Signal to be given to the *Me-galopolitans* and the Cavalry, was a Purple Coat, which was to be advanc'd in the Air, where *Anigonus* himself was posted".

The ancient *Grecian* Signals were lighted Torches thrown from both Armies by Men call'd *πυρφόροι*, or *πυρροφόροι*, who were Priests of *Mars*, and therefore held inviolable; and, having cast their Torches, had safe Regress (b): Whence of Battles fought with Transport of Fury, wherein no Quarter was given, it was usual to say, ἂν ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθῃ, i. e. Not so much as a Torch-bearer escap'd. To this Custom there are frequent Allusions in *Greek* and *Latin* Poets: *Lycophron*, speaking of the *Phœnicians*, who by stealing *Io* began the Quarrel between *Europe* and *Asia*, saith,

Ἐχθρὰς δὲ πυρσὸν ἦραν ἡπείροις διπλοῖς (c).

They rais'd envenom'd Discord, who then shook
Her balefull Torch within two Continents.

Hence also *Statius* (d);

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo
Ostendit Bellona facem.—————

Bellona first from th' *Larissæan* Tow'r
Shakes the dire Torch.—————

Claudian likewise, with others, whom I shall forbear to mention, takes notice of this Custom (e),

Tisiphone quatiens infesto lumine pinum,
Armatus ad castra vocat pallensia manes,

Tisiphone summons the Ghosts t' appear,
Shaking a livid Flame as Signal of the War.

These being laid aside, Shells of Fishes succeeded, which they founded in the manner of Trumpets, which in those Days were not invented (f). Hence *Theognis's* Riddle may easily be interpreted,

Ἦν γάρ με κέκλιμε θαλάττιος οἶκαδε νεκρὸς,
Τεθνηκὸς ζῶν φεγγέβωμον σῶμα π.

(a) Fine lib. II. (b) *Euripidus Scholiastes* *Thænis*, *Lycophronis Scholiastes* v. 250. aliique plures. (c) *Cassandra* v. 1295. (d) *Thebaid.* IV. v. 5. (e) *De Raptu Proserpinæ* lib. I. (f) *Tzetzes* in *Lycophron.* v. 250.

A Sea-inhabitant with living Mouth
Spoke to me to go Home, tho' dead it was.

Triton's Shell-trumpet is famous in Poetical Story; Whence Ovid speaking of Neptune (a),

—supraque profundum
Exstantem, atque humeros innato murice testum
Ceruleum Tritona vocat, conchaque sonaci
Inspirare jubet, fluctusque & flumina signo
Jam revocare dato, cava buccina sumitur illi
Tortilis, in laeum quæ turbine crescit ab imo.

Already Triton at his Call appears
Above the Waves, a Tyrian Robe he wears,
And in his Hand a crooked Trumpet bears.
The Sov'reign bids him peacefull Sounds inspire,
And give the Waves the Signal to retire:
His Writen Shell he takes, whose narrow Vent
Grows by degrees into a large Extent.

Mr. Dryden.

And most of the Poets mention this Custom in their Description of the primitive Wars: Whence Theocritus in his Poem about the Exploits of Castor and Pollux (b),

Η ἔ' Ἀμυκος, καὶ κόχλον ἑλὼν μυκίστατο κοῖλον,
Οἱ δ' ὅσως συναγερθεὶν ὑπὸ σκιερᾶς πλατανίσῳ,
Κόχλῳ φουαθέντος, αἰεὶ βέβρυκες κομίωντες.

This said, Amycus did his Trumpet sound,
The Vallies rung, and echo'd all around,
Thro' ev'ry distant Field the Noise was heard,
And Crowds of stout Bebrycians soon appear'd.

Mr. Creech.

Lycophron also, speaking of the Trojan War (c),

Καὶ δὴ κατὰδαι γαῖαν ὀρχισθεὶς Ἀρης,
Σπέρμελ' αἵματινὸν ἑξέσχεον ῥέμον.

Great Mars, that nimble God of War,
Invigorates the Youth by Sound of Shell
Twining and circling into various Rounds,
Thus was the Land lay'd wast, thus rag'd the fir'y God.

(a) Metam. lib. I. (b) Idyll. xlv. v. 75. (c) Cassandra v. 249.

Where

Where tho' the *Scholiast* falls foul upon the Poet for introducing Shells at a Time when Trumpets were in use, which he tells us may be made appear from *Homer*, yet herein he seems to be too audacious, it being observable (a), that, tho' *Homer* mentions Trumpets, yet they never make any Part of the Description of his Heroical Battles, but only furnish him with a *Simile*, or *Allusion*; As happens in the Place cited by *Tzetzes* (b),

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀειζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἰαχε σάλπηγ',
 Ἄστυ περὶ πολέμων δούων ὑπὸ θυμοπαΐσεων.
 Ὡς τίτ' ἀειζήλη φωνή γένητ' Αἰακίδαο.

When Foes encamp'd around a City lie,
 And wait surrender from the Enemy,
 Great Fear runs thrilling thro' their Breast within
 The Walls, when echoing Trumpets do begin;
 Such was *Achilles's* Voice, such Dread appear'd.
 In all the *Dardan* Host, 'twas so distinctly heard.

Mr. *Abell*.

Whence it may be presum'd, that Trumpets were indeed us'd in *Homer's* Time, being then only a late Invention, and not so ancient as the *Trojan* War, as the old *Scholiast* hath also observ'd (c). *Virgil* indeed appears to give some Countenance to *Tzetzes's* Opinion, when he speaks of *Misenus*, whom he makes to have serv'd *Hector* in the *Trojan* War, & afterward *Aeneas*, in the Office of a Trumpeter (d);

—— illi Misenum in litore sicco,
 Ut venere, vident indigna morte peremtum,
 Misenum Æoliden, quo non præstantior alter
 Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu:
 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes; Hectora circum
 Et lituo pugnas insignis obibat & hasta.
 Postquam illum victor vita spoliavit Achilles,
 Dardanio Æneæ sese fortissimus heros
 Addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.

As soon as they approach'd, they spy'd their Friend
Misenus dead by some untimely End,
 The brave *Misenus*, above all renown'd
 To make with swelling Notes the chearfull Trumpet sound;
 New Vigour would encourage on the War,
 When e'er his Trumpet echo'd from afar.

(a) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. ɛ'. (b) *Iliad*. ɛ'. v. 219. (c) *Iliad*. ɛ'. v. 219. *Iliad* φ'. v. 388. (d) *Æneid*. VI. v. 163.

He was th' illustrious *Hector's* Intimate,
The Ranks he'd traverse in Heroick State,
With 's Spear he'd exercise, with 's Trumpet animate;
But when *Achilles Hector* overcame,
And slew him in the Field, as great a Name
H' achiev'd by cleaving to *Aeneas's* Side,
A Prince for 's Prowels no less dignify'd.

Mr. Abel.

But here the *Brazen Trumpet* and *lituus* are taken from the Practice of the Poet's own Age by a Figure familiar to Men of his Profession; for *Misennus* was never acquainted with so rare a Contrivance, and tho' we find him so proud of his Art, as to challenge the Gods of the Sea, yet 'twas not to a Contention on the Trumpet, but on a Shell, the Instrument us'd by these Deities: Whence the same Poet, who may be suppos'd to be the best Interpreter of his own Words, adds in the Verses immediately following,

*Sed tum forte, cava dum personat æquora concha
Demens, & cantu vocat in certamina Divos,
Æmulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
Inter saxa virum spumosa immerferat undæ.*

But, whilst the *Sea-Gods* proudly he desy'd
Sounding a Writen Shell by th' Ocean's Side,
As his due Fate for his Ambitious Sound,
Him, if Report deceive not, *Triton* drown'd.

There were six several sorts of Trumpets (a), which have occasion'd the Disagreement in ancient Writers concerning the first Author of the Invention; it being common for them to ascribe to the Inventor of any one sort the Honour of the first Contrivance.

1. The first Trumpet was contriv'd by *Minerva*, the common Mother and Patroness of almost all Arts and usefull Inventions; Whence she was honour'd with the Title of *Σάλπιγξ*, mention'd in *Lycophron* (b),

Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἄρδιν ἐνδωμῇ χερσὶν
Σάλπιγξ. —

Under this Name she was worship'd in a Temple dedicated to her at *Argos* (c): But *Pausanias* is rather of opinion, that this Trumpet was the Invention of one of *Hercules's* Sons call'd *Tyrhænus*,

(a) *Eustathius Iliad* v. p. 1185. Ed t. Basil. (b) *Cassandra* v. 915. (c) *Hesiodus, Phævrius, Eustathius* loc. cit.

whose Son *Hegelaus* (having communicated it to a Party of *Dorians*, the Subjects of *Temenus*) in Memory of the Invention, and out of Gratitude to the Goddess for Assistance therein, gave her this Surname (a).

2. The second was the *Ægyptian* Trumpet, call'd *χρῆν*, *Osiris's* Contrivance: It was round, and us'd at Sacrifices to call the Congregation together (b).

3. The third was invented in *Gallia Celtica*, where it was term'd *καρρυξ*: It gave a very shrill Sound, but was not very large: It was cast in a Mould, and had it's Mouth adorn'd with the Figure of some Animal. They had a Pi.e of Lead, thro' which they blew into the Trumpet, when they sounded.

4. The fourth was first us'd in *Paphlagonia*, and call'd *βοῖντρος*, from *βῆς*, or the Figure of an Ox upon it's upper Orifice; It had a deep base Sound.

5. The fifth was invented in *Media*, had also a deep Note, and was sounded by the Help of a Pipe compos'd of Reeds.

6. The sixth was call'd *παλπιγξ Τυρρηνική*, because invented by *Tyrrhenians*, from whom it was communicated to the *Grecians* by one *Archonidas*, who came to assist the *Heraclidae*, or Posterity of *Hercules* (c). Others attribute the first Contrivance of it to *Tyrrenus*, *Hercules's* Son (d). It's Orifice was cleft, and sent forth an exceeding loud and shrill Sound, not unlike the *Phrygian* Flute; Whence it became of all the rest the most proper for Engagements: *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* compares to it the Goddess *Minerva's* Voice (e),

Ω φέγγμ' Αδάνας φιλάτης ἐμοὶ δειῶν,
Ως εὐμαδὲς σε, καὶν ἀποπτος ἦς, ὅμως
Φώνημ' ἀκέω, καὶ ξυαρπάζω φρενὶ,
Χαλκοσύγχα κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.

How clear, *Minerva*, and distinct thy Voice,
Thou, whom I reverence above the rest
Of Deities, who crowd th' Ætherial Court,
Thy Voice I know, and perfectly retain,
Altho' thou art unseen, as if I'd heard
The *Tyrrhene* Trumpet, whose continuing Sound
Leaves an Impression of it's echoing Notes.

Mr. *Abell*.

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that *Minerva's* Voice is resembled to

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*. Vide Commentarium nostrum in *Iycq;bron*. v. 915. (b) *Eustathius* loc. cit. Idem deinceps videndus. (c) *Sophoclis Scholiastes Ajace* v. 17. *Smidas*, *Diodorus Siculus* lib. V. (d) *Hyginus Fab.* 274. (e) *Ajace* v. 16.

the *Tyrrhenian Trumpet*, because it was easily known by reason of it's Loudness, as that Trumpet excell'd all others, and was at the first hearing easy to be distinguish'd from them.

These were the most common and remarkable sorts of Trumpets; others may perhaps now and then occur in Authors, such as the *Libyan* mention'd by *Suidas*, and one of *Sophocles's Scholiasts* (a), but seem to be of less Note, and not so frequently us'd.

Several other Instruments were us'd in sounding Alarms; the *σύριγξ*, or Pipe, in *Arcadia*; the *μπύρις*, sometimes term'd *μυράρις*, in *Sicily* (b). The *Cretans* were call'd to Battle by the Sound of *αὐλὰι*, or Flutes (c); as others, of *Citharæ*, Lutes, or Viols (d); but, as most of the ancient Writers affirm, of *Lyre*, or Harps (e), which, *Plutarch* tells us, were not laid aside for many Ages (f): The Person that sounded the Alarm the *Cretans* call'd *Ἰερεὺς*, and others term'd him *Ἰεγκήρ* (g) from a sort of Trumpet call'd *ῥοξ*.

The *Lacedemonians* are particularly remarkable for beginning their Engagements with a Concert of Flutes (h); The reason of which Practice being demanded of *Agésilas*, he reply'd, "That it was to distinguish Cowards"; such being unable by reason of their Consternation to keep Time with their Feet to the Musick, as was their Custom. This Answer is indeed facetious, and not wholly without Truth, yet seems not fully to comprehend the Design of this Custom. *Valerius Maximus* is yet farther from the Truth, and stands in direct Opposition to it, when he supposes it intended to raise the Courage of the Souldiers, that they might begin the Onset with greater Violence and Fury; for *Thucydides*, with whom the rest of ancient Historians agree, assures us, that the Design of it was rather to render them cool and sedate, Trumpets and other Instruments being more proper to inspire with Heat and Rage; but these Passions they thought rather apt to beget Disorder and Confusion, than to produce any noble and memorable Actions, Valour being not the Effect of any sudden and vanishing Transport, but proceeding from a settled and habitual Firmness and Constancy of Mind: Wherefore they endeavour'd not with Noise and Hast, but with compos'd Minds, and settled Countenances, to advance in a majestick and deliberate Pace towards their Enemies. The manner of it is describ'd by *Plutarch* (i), who tells us, "That the Army being drawn up in Battle-array, and the Enemy near, the King sacrific'd a She-goat, and at the same Time commanded the

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Clemens Pædag.* lib. II. cap. IV. (c) *Polybius* lib. IV. (d) *A. Gellius* lib. I. cap. XI. *Martianus Capella* lib. IX. (e) *Clemens* loc. cit. *Athenæus* lib. XII & XIV. *Eustathius* ad *Iliad.* v. (f) *Lib. de Musica.* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Iidem* Auctores. qui de *Cretensibus* citantur, item *Xenophon*, *Maximus Tyrius* Dissert. XII. & XXI. *Quintilianus* lib. I. cap. XVI. *Thucydides* lib. V. *Valerius Maximus* lib. II. cap. VI. *Lucianus* de *Saltatione*, & alii passim. (i) *Lycurgo.*

"Souldiers to adorn their Heads with Garlands, and the Fluters
 "to play *Καστορείον μέλος*, the Tune of *Castor's Hymn*; and him-
 "self, advancing forwards, begun the *ἐμβατήριος παῦαν*, or Alarm:
 "So that it was at once a delightfull and terrible Sight to see
 "them march on keeping Pace to the Tune of their Flutes, with-
 "out ever troubling their Order, or confounding their Ranks,
 "their Musick leading them into Danger cheerfull and unconcern'd:
 "For (proceeds my Author) Men thus dispos'd were not likely to be
 "possess'd with Fear, or transported with Fury; but they proceeded
 "with a deliberate Valour full of Hope and good Assurance, as
 "if some Divinity had sensibly assisted them". *Maximus* the *Ty-*
rian attributes to this Method those great Successes, and nume-
 rous Victories, that have render'd the *Spartan* Name famous in all
 succeeding Ages; but it seems peculiarly calculated and adapted
 to the Discipline and Temper of that State; and scarce to be imi-
 tated, 'till the old *Lacedemonian* Resolution, and unparallel'd Firm-
 nesses of Mind can be recall'd.

The rest of the *Grecians* advanc'd with eager Hast and Fury, and
 in the Beginning of their Onset gave a general Shout to encour-
 age and animate themselves, and strike Terror into their En-
 mies: This was call'd *ἀλαλαγμός*, from the Souldiers repeating
ἀλὰλ, *Suidas* makes them to have cry'd also *ἐλελεύ*: The first Au-
 thor of it was *Pan*, *Bacchus's* Lieutenant-General in his *Indian* Ex-
 pedition; where, being encompass'd in a Valley with an Army
 of Enemies far superiour to them in Number, he advis'd the God
 to order his Men in the Night to give a general Shout, which
 so surpriz'd the opposit Army, that they immediately fled from
 their Camp: Whence it came to pass, that all sudden Fears, im-
 press'd upon Men's Spirits without any just Reason, were call'd,
 by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Panick Terrors* (a).

This Custom seems to have been us'd by almost all Nations,
 Barbarous as well as Civil; and is mention'd by all Writers, that
 treat of Martial Affairs: *Homer* hath oblig'd us with several ele-
 gant Descriptions of it, too numerous to be insert'd in this Place:
 I shall however give you one out of the fourth *Iliad* (b),
 where he resembles the Military Noise to Torrents rowling with
 impetuous Force from Mountains into the subjacent Vallies;

Ως δ' ὅτε χεῖμαρ' ὅτε ποταμοί, κατ' ὄρεσσι ῥέοντες,
 Ἐς μυτράγκειαν συμβάλλετον ἑμβριμον ὕδωρ
 Κρηνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων, κοίλης ἐντοδὲ χαράδρης,
 Τῶν δέ τε πηλόσθ' δ' ὕπον ἐν ὕρσιν ἔχλυε ποιμὴν,
 Ως τ' ἰμυτομύων γένετο ἰαχὴ τε, φόβος τε.

(a) *Polyanus Strateg. lib. I.* (b) *V. 452.*

As with impetuous Torrent Rivers flow
Down a steep Hill, when swoll'n by Winter's Snow,
Into the Vales with mighty Floods they pour,
Fraught with Destruction and an hideous Roar:
Thus fled, thus posted all the Trojan Rout
In eager Flight with dismal Noise and Shout.

Mr. Abell.

Some may infer from the Beginning of *Homer's third Iliad*, that this Noise was only a Barbarous Custom, practis'd indeed by the *Trojans*, but laugh'd at by the more civiliz'd *Grecians* (a):

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόμπηδεν ἅμ' ἡμιμόνοσιν ἕκαστοι,
Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ', ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν, ὄρνιδες ὥς.
Ὡς τε περ κλαγγῇ γυράων πέλει ἐρανόδι περὶ,
Αἱ τ' ἐπεὶ ἐν χειμῶνα φύγον, καὶ ἀδέσφοτον ὄμβρον.
Κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' ἀκeanοῖο ξοάων,
Ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσι,
Ἥετα δ' ἄρα ταίγε κακῶς εἶδα περφερόντες.
Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σγῇ, μέντε πνέοντες, Ἀχαιοί,
Ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλγέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

As, when the nipping winter Season's past,
To a *Pygmean* Combat Cranes make halt,
In cheerfull Flights they blacken from afar
The Clouds, and gladly meditate a War,
With Noise and Clangor eagerly they fly,
Such were the clam'rous Shouts of th' *Trojan* Enemy.
Silent and Wise the *Argian* Legions move
Fix'd and united by a mutual Love,
Auxiliary Aid resolv'd to show,
If an impending Loss came threatning from the Foe.

Mr. Abell.

But this is only to be understood of their March, as appears likewise from another Passage in the fourth *Iliad*, where the Poet has admirably represented the Order and regular March of the *Grecians*, with the Confusion and disorderly Motion of the *Barbarians* (b):

ἐπαιχτέρας Δαναῶν κίνητο φάλαγγες
Ναυαγμέως πόλεμόνδε· κέλευε δὲ οἷσιν ἕκαστος
Ἡγεμόνων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκλῶ ἴσαν (εἰδὲ καὶ φαίης

(a) V. 1. (b) V. 427.

Τόσον λαὸν ἔπειδ' ἔχοντ' ἐν σήδεσιν αὐδῶν)
 Σιγῇ δειδότες σιμάντορας· ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι
 Τούχ' αὖ ποικίλ' ἐλαμπε, τὰ εἰμῶσι ἐστρώοντο.
 Τρώες δ' ὥστ' οἷες πολυπάμμονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ
 Μυεῖαι ἐσήκασιν, ἀμελγόμεναι γάλα λαλῶν,
 Ἀζήχες μεμακῆαι, ἀκέσασαι ὅπα ἀρνῶν.
 Ως Τρώων ἀλαλήτος ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρυὸν ὁρώρει

With stern and awfull Visage Chiefs bear Sway,
 While all their Forces silently obey;
 In thick Battalions they march along,
 (But who would think that such a num'rous Throng
 Shou'd fill the Plains, and scarce e'er use a Tongue)
 Such pow'rfull Chiefs the Grecian Hero's were,
 Thus did their Conduct gracefully appear;
 As thus they march, their burnish'd Arms afar
 Display the Lustre of a future War.
 Not in such State advanc'd the Trojan Rout,
 With thund'ring Peals of Noise, and pompous Shout
 A Tumult they did raise, and th' Air did rend;
 Thus, when a Swain large Flocks of Ewes hath penn'd
 To milk their burthen'd Duggs, they dolefull bleat
 Hearing their Lambkins bleating for the Tear.

Mr. Abell.

Where 'tis manifest he only speaks of their March, because a few
 Verses after, where he comes to describe the Engagement of the
 two Armies, he does it in the Words before cited; and in all other
 Places he mentions the great Noise and Clamour of both Par-
 ties in their Encounters. Thus in the sixteenth *Iliad* he speaks of
Achilles's Myrmidons (a),

Ἐν δ' ἔπεισον Τρώεσσιν ἀλλέες· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες
 Σμερδαλέον κονάβησαν αὐσάντων ὤσ' Ἀχαιῶν.

The Grecians press o' th' Trojans with a Noise,
 The Ships reflect the Echo of their Voice.

And a little before (b);

Ἐκ νηῶν ἐχέοντο, βοῇ δ' ἄσβεστος ὁρώρει.

They throng out of their Ships with joyfull Shout.

Nay so necessary, and almost essential was this Shout to a Battle, that *φύλαξις*, *αὐτὴ*, and *βοή* are us'd by the Poet as equivalent Terms for *μάχη*: And, when he commends his Hero's for being *βόλῳ ἀγαθοί*, he often means no more than *μαχίῳ ἀγαθοί*, excellent Warriours. 'Twas also one Part of a good Souldier's and Commander's Character to have a strong Voice, not only because it was the Custom to signify their Orders by Word of Mouth before Trumpets were invented, but for the Terrour wherewith it surpriz'd and astonish'd their Enemies (a): Instances of this Nature are very frequent in *Homer*, where *Hector*, *Achilles*, and several others strike a Consternation into the adverse Party with a Shout: And later Authors give this good Quality it's peculiar Commendation; *Plutarch* in particular, in his Character of *Marcus Coriolanus* the Roman General, observes that he was not only dreadfull to meet in the Field by reason of his Hand and Stroke, but (what he tells us *Cato* requir'd in an accomplish'd Warriour) insupportable to an Enemy for the very Tone and Accent of his Voice, and the sole Terrour of his Aspect.

In the Heroical Wars the Generals fought at the Head of their Armies, as appears in all *Homer's* Battles: Whence they are frequently term'd *πρόμαχοι*, and *πρόμοι*, because they did *προμαχέσθαι πρὸ στρατῶν*, fight before their Armies: Thus when he lead up the *Trojans* (b),

Τρωὶν μὲν προμαχέσθην Ἀλέξανδρος Διοειδής.

At th' Head o'th' *Trojans* Godlike *Paris* fought.

And when *Achilles* sends out his Souldiers to defend the *Grecian* Ships, having allotted to the rest of his Officers their several Posts, he places *Patroclus* and *Automedon*, as chief Commanders, before the Front (c),

Πάντων δ' ἐπὶ προπύργισθε δὴ ἄνερε Δαρήστειδον,
Πάτροκλος τε καὶ Ἀυτομέδων, ἔνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
Πρόθεν Μυρμιδόνων πολεμίζεμεν. ———

Before the rest two well-arm'd Chiefs appear'd,
Patroclus, and *Automedon*, prepar'd
With equal Courage to begin the Fight
At th' Head o'th' *Myrmidons*. ———

To heap up more Instances in a Thing so well known would be to no purpose. In wiser Ages this Practice was laid aside, and

(a) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. c. p. 187. ll. γ'. [p. 309. ll. x'. p. 799. &c. Ed. Basil.
(b) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 16. (c) *Iliad*. π'. 218.

Generals, considering how much the Event of the Battle depended upon the Preservation of their Persons, usually chose safer Posts, and were more cautious how they adventur'd themselves into Danger.

The Retreat, and other Commands seem usually to have been sounded upon the same Instrument, wherewith the Alarm was given: Yet in those Places, where the Alarm was sounded by soft and gentle Musick, the Retreat and other Orders we find sometimes signify'd upon louder Instruments: Which may be observ'd of the *Lacedemonians*, who seem to have us'd Trumpets in signifying the General's Orders, as appears from *Polybius* (a), who reports that *Cleomenes* commanded a Party of his Army to change their Posts by Sound of Trumpet.

The *Lacedemonians*, when their Enemies fled out of the Field, were not allow'd to prosecute their Victory, or make long and eager Pursuits after them (b): While they made Opposition, and were able to fight for Mastery, they contended with invincible Courage and Resolution to bear them down; but, when they ceas'd to make Resistance, and yielded the Day, they gave them Liberty to provide for their Safety by Flight, pursuing them only a very short Space, and that by slow and easy Paces: The reason of which Custom *Pausanias* (c) accounts for from their strict and inviolate Observance of Order and Discipline, which made them rather choose to let their Enemies escape, than by breaking their Ranks to overtake them: *Plutarch's* Relation seems also rational, and well suited to the old *Spartan* Temper; "That the *Spartans*, having routed an Enemy, pursu'd him 'till they had completed their Victory, and then sounded a Retreat; thinking it base, and unworthy of true *Grecians*, to cut Men in Pieces, that had ceas'd from resisting them, and left them the Field: Which manner of Dealing with those they had conquer'd, did not only shew their Magnanimity and Greatness of Soul, but had a political End in it too; For their Enemies, knowing that they kill'd only those who made Resistance, and gave Quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best Way to consult their Safety by an early Flight (d)".

One Thing farther remains before the Conclusion of this Chapter, viz. That it was frequent amongst the ancient *Grecians* to put their Cause upon the Issue of a single Combat, and to decide their Quarrels by two, or more Champions on each Side: And their Kings and great Commanders were so eager in their Pursuit after Glory, so tender of the Lives of their Subjects, that they frequently sent Challenges to their Rival Princes, to end their Quarrel by a single Encounter, that by the Death of one of them they might prevent the

(a) Lib. II. prope finem. (b) *Thucydides* lib. V. *Polyanus* lib. I. (c) *Mes-senies*. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*, *Apophthegmat. Lacedaemonis*, πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν.

Effusion of more Blood: Remarkable Instances hereof we have in *Xanthus* King of *Baotia*, who, challenging the King of *Attica*, was slain by him, and so ended a dangerous War between those States (a); and in *Pistacus* the famous *Mitylenian*, who slew *Phryno* the *Athenian* General in single Combat: Ancient Histories are full of such Examples, as likewise of Wars happily concluded by a small Number commission'd by mutual Agreement to decide the Controversy: The *Lacedemonians* furnish us with one memorable Instance in their Wars with *Argos* about the Title to *Thyrea*, which was determin'd by three-hundred on each Side: Nor was the Conclusion of the War between the *Tegeans* and *Phereans*, two petty States in *Arcadia*, less remarkable, being effected by a Combat of three Brothers on each Side (b), all the Circumstances of whose Story run exactly parallel to that of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* so famous in *Roman* Histories: The Eastern Countries were acquainted with the same Custom, as may appear from *Goliath's* challenging the *Israelitish* Host to give him a Man to fight with him, and the Flight of the *Philistines* upon *David's* Victory over their Champion.

CHAPTER X.

Of their Sieges, with the most remarkable of their Inventions, and Engines us'd therein.

THERE are no Footsteps of any Siege amongst the primitive *Grecians*; their Cities were not fortify'd with Walls, but lay open to all Invaders, and, their Inhabitants once vanquish'd in open Field, became an easy Prey to the Conquerors: Wherefore 'tis not to be wonder'd, that the People of those Times enjoy'd no fix'd and settled Habitations, but frequently remov'd from one Part of the Country to another, being forc'd to quit their Seats, whenever they were coveted by a Power superiour to their own (c).

This moving and unsettled Condition, wherein they continu'd for some Ages, caus'd them to attempt several Methods to secure themselves: Some built their Cities upon the Tops of unaccessible Rocks, and Mountains, whence they could easily repel a greater Force of Enemies: Others, whose Situation was not so defensible, were driven to seek other Ways for their Safety, 'till at length some Heads of no vulgar Understanding brought forth an ama-

(a) Vide *Archæolog. nostr.* Vol. I p. 331. (b) *Plutarchus Parallelis.*
(c) *Thucydides* initio lib. I.

zing Contrivance to enclose their Houses and Possessions within Walls; this at first was look'd on as a Work so wonderfull, so far above Human Capacity, that the Gods were frequently call'd from their blessed Mantions to undertake it: The Walls of *Troy* (to mention no more) were of Divine Workmanship, and rais'd by no meaner Persons than *Neptune* and *Apollo*: But if Mortals had the Happinels to project, and finish so great a Design; they seldom fail'd of being translated to Heaven, and having their Names enroll'd among those exalted Beings, to whom they were thought to make near Approaches, whilst on Earth.

And, since it was their Custom to immortalize the first Authors of every little Contrivance, 'tis no Wonder if they conferr'd the same Honours on those great Benefactors, to whom they were oblig'd for the Security and quiet Possession of whatever the rest of their Deities had gratify'd them with. Once, indeed, enclos'd within Walls, they look'd upon themselves safe from all Assaults; and, had not a weak Opposition within been sufficient to repell much greater Forces of Invaders, such a Town as *Troy* could never have held out ten Years against an hundred-thousand Besiegers.

Nor were the *Grecians* of later Ages, however renown'd for Knowledge in Military Affairs, very willing to undertake, or expert in managing Sieges; But rather chose to end their Quarrels, if possible, by one decisive Battle, than to undergo the Fatigue, and other Inconmodities of so tedious, so dangerous, and expensive a Method.

Of all the *Grecians* the most averse from undertaking Leaguers, the most unwillfull in carrying them on to Advantage, were the *Lacedemonians*; insomuch that after *Mardonius's* Defeat at *Plataeae*, when a Body of *Persians* had taken Refuge in some Wooden Fortifications, they could find no Means to drive them thence, but must have been forc'd to retire, had not the *Athenians*, and some other *Grecians* advanc'd to their Assistance (a). For we are told by *Plutarch*, That their Law-giver oblig'd them by a special Injunction not easily to engage in Besieging Towns; and to loose their Lives in such Undertakings was accounted inglorious, and unworthy a *Spartan*, as we learn from the same Authour (b), who, speaking of *Lysander's* being slain before the Gates of a little *Bacian* Town call'd *Haliartus*, tells us, "That like some common Souldier, or one of the forlorn Hope, he cast away his Life ingloriously, giving Testimony to the ancient *Spartans*, that they did well to avoid Storming of Walls, where the stoutest Man may chance to fall by the Hand not only of an abject Fellow, but of a Boy, or Woman; as they say *Achilles* was slain by *Paris* at the *Scean* Gates of *Troy* (c); *Pyrrhus* also the great King of *Epirus* fell by the Hand of a Woman at *Argos* (d).

(a) *Herodotus* lib IX. cap. LXIX. (b) *Plutarch. Sylla.* (c) *Hom. Iliad. x.* v. 360. (d) *Plutarchus Pyrrhus.*

When they endeavour'd to possess themselves of a Town, or Castle, it was usual first to attempt it by Storm, surrounding it with their whole Army, and attacking it in all Quarters at once, which the Greeks call'd *καταβουλειν*, the Romans *corona cingere*. When this Method prov'd ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their Enterprize: But if resolv'd to prosecute it, they prepar'd for a longer Siege; in carrying on which they seem not to have proceeded in any constant and settled Method, but to have vary'd it according to the Direction of their Generals, as well as the Difference of Time, Place, and other Circumstances.

When they design'd to lay close Siege to a Place, the first Thing they went about was *ἐπιστήριχος*, or *ἀσπληνισμός*, the Works of Circumvallation, which we find sometimes to have consisted of a double Wall, or Rampire, rais'd up of Turfs call'd in Greek *πλινθοί*, and *πλινθία*, in Latin *cespites*. The interior Fortification was design'd to prevent sudden and unexpected Sallies from the Town; and to deprive it of all possibility of Succour from without; the exterior to secure them from foreign Enemies, that might come to the Relief of the Besieg'd: Thus, when the Peloponnesians invested *Plataeae*, *Thucydides* reports, they rais'd a double Wall, one towards the City, the other towards *Athens*, to prevent all Danger on that Side; the middle Space, which was sixteen Feet, was taken up with Lodges for Guards and Sentinels, built at due Distances from one another, yet so close, that at a distant View the whole Pile appear'd to be one broad Wall, with Turrets on both Sides, after every tenth of which was a larger Tower extended from Wall to Wall.

Engines were call'd by the ancient Grecians *μηχαναί*, and afterwards *μηχαναί*: The first Invention of them the Grecians claim to themselves, being not easily induc'd to allow the Contrivance of any Art to other Nations; for it was their Custom to travel into *Egypt*, *India*, and other Eastern Countries, to furnish themselves with Sciences, and Inventions, which afterwards they made publick in *Europe*, and vented as Productions of their own: Hence was deriv'd most of the Grecian Philosophy; and as for Engines us'd in Sieges, it appears they were invented in the Eastern Nations many Ages before Greece had the least Knowledge of, or Occasion for them: *Moses's* Times seem not to have been unacquainted with them (a), several of the Jewish Kings likewise appear to have known the Use of them; whereas the Grecians 'till *Homer's* Time are not found to have had the least Hint of any such Thing: *Strabo* indeed carries them as high as the Trojan War, and, speaking of the various Presents sent to *Achilles* by the Grecians in order to carry

(a) *Deuteronom. cap. XX. 20.*

on the War, reports that *Pylos* and *Messene* furnish'd him with Engines to batter the Walls;

Murorum tormenta Pylos Messenaeque tradunt.

Large batt'ring Engines are from *Pylos* sent,
And from *Messene*.——

But the Poet seems to have forgotten the rude and unskillfull Age of this Hero, and to have form'd his Description from the Practices of his own Times; since Authors of better Credit have no mention of any such Thing: *Homer* indeed speaks of κρέαται, which some ancient Interpreters take for κλιμακες, scaling Ladders (a),

οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα
κρέαται ἐπέβαινον, ἀναχιδνα δ' ἔρατ' ἔχοντες.

Bearing well-pointed Spears these straight ascend
The scaling Ladders.——

But it may with no less Propriety be taken for the Pinnacles of Towers, as we find it us'd in the following Verse (b);

κρέατας μὲν πύργων ἔρουν, καὶ ἔρειπον ἐπάλξεις.

The Tower's lofty Pinnacles they raz'd,
Demolish'd all their Bulwarks.——

Others again will have them to have been as ancient as the *Theban* War, and to have been the Contrivance of *Capanews*, one of the seven Champions; the Story of whose being knock'd down with Thunderbolts was grounded on no better a Foundation, than that, attempting to scale the Walls of *Thebes* with Ladders, he was beaten down and slain with Stones: And since the Contrivance is so easy and obvious, it may not be wholly improbable, that even those Ages were acquainted with it, however the different sorts of Ladders were invented afterwards, when some of them were πικταί (c), plicatiles, folded, others ἀνακταί, solutiles, to be taken in Pieces (c), for the Convenience of Carriage. The Matter they were compos'd of, was likewise very different, being not only Wood, but Ropes, Leather, &c.

The rest of their Engines seem however to have been later: The *Ram* indeed is said by *Pliny* to have been invented in the *Trojan* War, and to have given occasion to the Fable of the Wooden

(a) *Iliad*. μ'. ν. 444. (b) *Ibid*. ν. 258. (c) *Appian*. (d) *Plutarchus*. *Arato*.

Horse built by *Epeus*, it being the constant Practice of those Times to wrap up the Original of every Invention in Fables: But this is only Conjecture, and may with the same Ease be deny'd, as asserted; *Athenus* indeed speaks of this Engine as very ancient (a), but doth not fix it's Invention to any determinate Time, only observes that the *Romans* were oblig'd for it to the *Grecians*; and since *Virgilius* gives the Honour of it's Contrivance to the *Carthaginians* in their Siege of *Gades*, and neither *Homer*, nor any *Greek* Writer for many Ages after has the least mention thereof, there seems little reason to credit *Pliny's* Report. 'Tis probable however, that those Ages might have some small Helps in taking Towns, contriv'd, as by several others, so particularly by *Epeus*, who is famous in Poetical Story for being an Artificer, and (as *Lycophron* reports) was very serviceable on that Account to the *Grecian* Army,

Πικτύς μ' ἐδολόν, πτόχα δ' ἐν κλόνῳ δοξός,
Καὶ πλείυα τέχναις ἀφελήσωτα στρατόν (b).

Dauntless in Boxing, but dismay'd at th' Sound
Of clashing Arms, yet by his famous Art
He was most usefull to the *Grecian* Fleet.

But these Devices seem to have been exceeding contemptible, and unartificial; and therefore were wholly laid aside in wiser Ages, and, it may be, never practis'd but at their first Invention. The only constant Instruments us'd by the ancient *Grecians* in demolishing Walls, were (for ought appears to the contrary) those they call'd *τροπανα*, in *Latin* *terebrae*, which were long Irons with sharp Ends: Wherefore 'tis reasonable to conclude that most of their famous Engines were invented about the Time of the *Peloponnesian* War, wherein 'tis plain from *Thucydides* they were us'd; *Diodorus* (c) and *Plutarch* (d) will have *Pericles* to have contriv'd several of them by the Assistance of *Artemon* an Artificer of *Clazomene*, as Rams, Tortoises, &c. yet *Cornelius Nepos* reports, that some of them were us'd in the Age before by *Miltiades*, when he besieg'd *Paros*; *Plutarch* also himself, when he reports out of *Ephorus*, that battering Engines were first employ'd in the *Samian* War by *Pericles*, and compos'd at that Time by *Artemon*, being then a strange and surprizing Sight, presently after adds, that *Heracles* of *Pontus* will have that Engineer to have flourish'd several Ages before the *Samian* War; so that nothing of certainty can be expected in this Matter. The Principal of the *Grecian* Inventions were these which follow:

(a) Fine lib. VI. (b) *Cassandr.* v. 945. (c) Lib. XII. (d) *Pericle.*

Χελώνη, *testudo*, a Tortoise, a defensive Invention, so call'd from it's Strength, because it cover'd and shelter'd the Souldiers under it, as a Tortoise is cover'd by it's Shell: Several sorts we find of them, as,

1. *Χελώνη στρατιωτικὴν*, *testudo militaris*, term'd sometimes *συνασπισμός*, when the Souldiers, drawn up close to one another, and the hindermost Ranks bowing themselves, plac'd their Targets above their Heads; as if we suppose the first Rank to stand erect, the rest to stoop lower and lower by Degrees, 'till the last Rank kneel'd upon the Ground; the Men in the Front and on the Sides holding their Targets before their Bodies, the rest covering the Heads of those that were plac'd before them; so that the whole Body resembled a Pent-house, or Roof cover'd with Tiles, down which the Enemy's missive Weapons easily glided without Prejudice to the Souldiers underneath: This Invention was us'd in Field-battles, but more frequently in surprizing Cities before the Besieg'd were prepar'd for Defence; and serv'd to protect the Besiegers in their Approach to the Walls.

2. *Χελώνη χασπίς* was four-square; the chief Design thereof was (as the Name imports) to guard the Souldiers in filling Ditches, and casting up Mounts.

3. *Χελώνη ὀρυζ*, was triangular with it's Front shelving downwards for the Protection of Pioneers, who undermin'd Walls.

4. To these may be added *Testudo arietaria*, wherewith those that batter'd the Walls were protected; of which afterwards.

Τέσσα, Wicker Hurdles, resembling the Roman *vineæ*, which the Souldiers held over their Heads. The Word came at length to signify *Trifles*, from the Siege of *Syracuse*, where the *Athenians* calling continually for Hurdles to shelter them, the Besiegers in Derision us'd to cry *τέσσα τέσσα*.

Another Engine compos'd of Boards, and, like the Roman *pluteus*, was us'd by *Alexander's* Souldiers, as we read in *Curtius*.

Χῶμα, *agger*, a Mount, which was rais'd so high as to equal, if not exceed the Top of the besieg'd Walls: The Sides were wall'd in with Bricks or Stones, or secur'd with strong Rastres to hinder it from falling; the Fore-part only, being by Degrees to be advanc'd nearer the Walls, remain'd bare. The Pile it self consisted of all sorts of Materials, as Earth, Timber, Boughs, Stones, &c. as *Thucydides* reports in the Siege of *Plateæ*: Into the Middle were cast also Wickers, and Twigs of Trees to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other Parts. The whole Fabrick is thus describ'd by *Lucan* (a);

— tunc omnia late
Procumbunt nemora, & spoliantur robore silvæ;

(a) Lib. III.

*Ue, cum terra levis median virgultaque molem
Suspendant, structa laterum compage ligatam
Arctet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger.*

The Groves are fell'd, and strongest Timber sought,
From thickest Forrests largest Oaks are brought,
To make strong Rafter to support the Pile,
Lest th' Earth break in and frustrate all their Toyl,
Unable to sustain the Tower's Weight.

Mr. Huchins.

Πύργος, turres, moveable Towers of Wood, usually plac'd upon the Mount: They were driven upon Wheels, which were fix'd within the Bottom-planks to secure them from the Enemies. Their Size was not always the same, but proportion'd to the Towers of the City they belieg'd; the Front was usually cover'd with Tiles, and in later Times the Sides were likewise guarded with the same Materials; their Tops were cover'd with raw Hides, and other Shrowds, to preserve them from Fire-balls and mislive Weapons: They were form'd into several Stories, which were able to carry not Souldiers only, but all sorts of portable Engines; whence *Silius (a)*;

*Turris multiplici surgens ad sidera recto
Exibat, tabulata decem cui crescere Grajus
Fecerat, & multas nemorum consumserat umbras.*

Thin were the Groves, and scarce cou'd boast a Shade,
When th' *Grajan* with ten Rooms a Tower made,
Whose various Turrets seem'd the Stars t' invade.

The first Contrivance is attributed to some Artificers of Sicily about the Time of *Dionysius* the Tyrant; by some to *Polyidus* a *Thessalian*, *Philip* of *Macedon's* Engineer (b); by others to *Diades* and *Chereas* (c), who were *Polyidus's* Scholars, and entertain'd by *Alexander* in his Eastern Expedition: The last of these seem rather to have been Improvers of the former Invention, for we find mention of Wooden Towers in the elder *Dionysius's* Reign (d): It may be the Device of making *πύργος φορητός*, portable Turrets to be taken in Pieces and carry'd along with the Army, may be owing to them.

Κεῖρος, aries, the Ram, was an Engine with an Iron Head call'd in *Greek* *κεραλὴ*, or *ἐμβολή*, resembling a Ram's Head, where-with they batter'd the Enemies Walls: Of these there were three kinds:

(a) Lib. XIV. (b) *Athenaeus Mechanicis* apud *Turneb. Vitruvius* lib. X. cap. XIX. (c) *Heron* cap. XIII. (d) *Diodorus Siculus*.

1. The first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a long Beam with an Iron Head, which the Souldiers drove with main Force against the Wall.

2. The second was hung with Ropes to another Beam, by the Help of which they thrust it forwards with much greater Force.

3. The third differ'd only from the former, as being cover'd with a *χλών*, or Shrowd to guard the Souldiers, whence 'tis call'd *testudo arietaria*.

The Beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty Feet in length, and cover'd with Iron Plates, lest those who defended the Walls should set it on Fire; the Head was arm'd with as many Horns as they pleas'd; *Josephus* reports that one of *Vespasian's* Rams, the Length whereof was only fifty Cubits, which came not up to the Size of several of the *Grecian* Rams, had an Head as thick as ten Men, and twenty-five Horns, each of which was as thick as one Man, and plac'd a Cubit's Distance from the rest; the Weight hung (as was customary) upon the Hinder-part, weigh'd no less than one thousand and five hundred Talents; when it was remov'd from one Place to another, if it was not taken in Pieces, an hundred and fifty Yoke of Oxen, or three hundred Pair of Horses and Mules labour'd in drawing it; And no less than fifteen-hundred Men employ'd their utmost Strength in forcing it against the Walls; at other Times we find these Rams driven upon Wheels.

Ελέπολις was first invented by *Demetrius*, Son to *Antigonus*, who, having taken *Rhodos*, with several other Towns by the Help of this Engine, was honour'd with the Sirname of *πολιρκητής*. We have several Descriptions of it left us by *Vitruvius* (a), *Plutarch* (b), and *Diodorus* (c), who, tho' differing in other Points, are thus far agree'd, That it was a Machine of prodigious Bulk, not unlike the Ram cover'd with a Shrowd, but vastly bigger, and of far greater Force; that it was driven both with Ropes and Wheels, and contain'd several other smaller Engines, out of which Stones, and other missive Weapons were cast.

Καταπέλται are us'd in different Sences, sometimes for Arrows, sometimes for Engines, out of which Arrows were cast; in the later of which Significations they are term'd *ὀξυέλες*, and *βιλοσάτες*. They are likewise, tho' not very properly, taken for Engines to cast Stones; and we find them sometimes us'd to throw great Pieces of Timber: The Invention of them is ascrib'd to the *Syrians* by *Pliny*; but *Diodorus* (d), and *Plutarch* report, they were first contriv'd in *Sicily*, about the Time that the elder *Dionysius* engag'd in the War with *Carthage*.

(a) Lib. X. (b) *Demetrio*. (c) Lib. XX. (d) Lib. XIV.

Engines to cast Stones were of several sorts; some only for smaller Stones, such as *σφενδαλιαι*, Slings; others for those also of a larger Size, call'd sometimes only by the general Names of *μάγνα*, and *μαγνανιχά ὄργανα*, or *ἀριστεία ὄργανα*, the former of which seem to signify all sorts of Engines, the later all those design'd to cast missive Weapons; sometimes by more peculiar Titles, as *λιθοβόλοι*, *πετροβόλοι*, *πετροβολιχά ὄργανα*, which Names are yet so general, as to comprehend all Engines that cast Stones: Nor is there any proper Term, that I know of, for that famous Engine, out of which Stones of a Size not less than Mill-stones were thrown with so great Violence, as to dash whole Houses in Pieces at a Blow: 'Twas call'd indeed by the Romans *Ballista*, but this Name, tho' of Grecian Original, appears not to have been us'd in Greece; this Engine however was known there, and was the same with that us'd by the Romans, the Force of which is thus express'd by *Lucan* (a);

*At saxum quoties ingemi verberis ictu
Excutitur, qualis rupes, quam vertice montis
Abscidit impulsu ventorum adpata vetustas;
Frangit cuncta ruens, nec tantum corpora pressa
Exanimas, totos cum sanguine dissipat artus.*

Such is the Force, when massy Stones are thrown,
As when from some Mount's Top a Rock falls down,
Which now worn out with Age can't longer bear
The Shock of Winds, and Fury of the Year;
They break thro' all that in their Passage lye,
And do thro' Walls and Houses force their Way,
No only kill the Man, but spread all o'er
The Ground his scatter'd Limbs and reeking Gore.

Mr. Huchin.

These were the most remarkable Engines the Grecians us'd in taking Towns. It will be expected in the next Place, that some Account be given of the Methods, by which the Besieg'd defend themselves.

Upon the Enemy's Approach they gave notice to their Confederates (if they had any) to hasten their Assistance: In the Day this was done by raising a great Smoak; in the Night by Fires, or lighted Torches call'd *φρυκτοί*, and *φρυκτωεῖαι*, whence to signify the coming of Enemies was call'd *φρυκτωρεῖν* (b): These were term'd *φρυκτοί πολέμοι*, to distinguish them from those they call'd *φρυκτοί φίλοι*, which were lighted upon the Approach of

(a) Lib. III. (b) Theognidii Scholiastes, Homeri Scholiastes Iliad ε'.

Friends: They differ'd in this, that the later were held firm and unmov'd, the former to's'd and wav'd to and fro in the Air.

They seem not to have had any constant Method of defending themselves; but thus much may be observ'd in general, that the Walls were guarded with Souldiers, who, with Stones, and all sorts of missive Weapons assaulted the Invaders; and the *καταπέλται* with other Engines of that Nature were planted within the Town, and play'd upon them. Several other Methods were practis'd against them, as, when the *Tyrians* heating brass Bucklers red hot, and filling them with Sand and Lime, pour'd it upon *Alexander's* Souldiers, which getting between their Armour and Flesh, burn'd vehemently, and caus'd them to fling off their Armour, so that the Besiegers wounded them at pleasure, without receiving any Hurt. Several Ways they had to elude the Force of their Engines, and defeat their Stratagems: Their Mines they render'd ineffectual by Countermines; their Mounts they let fall to the Ground by Undermining their Foundations: Their Towers and all their Engines they burn'd with Fire-balls; themselves they defended with Skins, Wooll-packs, and other Things proper to ward off Stones, and other missive Weapons: The Heads of Battering Rams they broke off with Stones of a prodigious Size from the Walls; or (as we read of the *Tyrians*) render'd them useless by cutting the Ropes, whereby they were govern'd, with long Scythes: And if there remain'd no Hope of defending their Walls, they sometimes rais'd new ones with Forts within. Many other Contrivances were us'd, as the Posture of Affairs requir'd, and as the Besieg'd were ingenious in finding out Methods for their own Preservation.

Their manner of treating Cities they had taken, was not always the same, depending upon the Temper of the General, who sometimes put all, at least all that were in Arms, to the Sword, demolish'd the Walls and Buildings, and made the rest Slaves; sometimes graciously receiv'd them into Favour, requiring only some Tributary Acknowledgement. The *Athenians* had a Custom of sending Colonies to inhabit the Places they had depopulated, which they divided by Lots among some of the Commonalty, when met together in a publick Assembly (a).

When they demolish'd a City, it was frequent to pronounce direfull Curses upon whoever should endeavour to rebuild it; which some imagine was the reason that *Troy* could never be rais'd out of it's Ashes, tho' there wanted not who attempted it, being devoted to eternal and irreparable Ruin by *Agamemnon* (b): This seems to have been a very ancient Custom, and deriv'd from the Eastern Nations; for (to omit other Instances) we find

(a) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Nubibus* p. 134. (b) *Eustathius Iliad. d. p. 250.*
Joshua

Joshua at the Destruction of *Jericho* to have fix'd an Imprecation upon the Person that should rebuild it (a), which was accomplish'd in *Hiel* the *Bethelite* many Ages after in the Reign of *Ahab* (b).

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Slain, and their Funerals.

THE ancient *Grecians* seem to have treated the Bodies of their dead Enemies in a very undecent and inhuman manner, basely revenging the Injuries they had receiv'd from them whilst living, by disfiguring, and stabbing their Carcases, and exposing them to Scorn and Ignominy: Which cruel and barbarous Practice was not thoroughly reform'd in the *Trojan War*, as appears from divers Instances in the *Iliads*, where dead Enemies are dismember'd by insulting Conquerours; none of which is more remarkable than that of *Hector*, who lay unbury'd many Days, was dragg'd round *Troy's Walls*, and *Patroclus's Sepulcher*, and suffer'd all sorts of Indignities: This indeed might be imputed to *Achilles's* extravagant Rage for the loss of *Patroclus*, or (as the *Scholiast* (c) affirms) to a peculiar Custom of *Thessaly* his native Country, where it was their constant Practice to drag at their Chariots the Murderers of their near Friends, did it not appear that the rest of the *Grecians* us'd him in a manner no less brutish and barbarous, by cowardly insulting over him, and stabbing his dead Body (d):

Η ξα, καὶ ἐκ νεκροῦ ἐρύσσει χαλκὸν ἔγχος,
καὶ τὸ γ' ἀνδρὸς ἐνὶ χ'· ὁ δ' ἀπ' ὄμων τεύχε' ἐσύλα
αἵματόεντ'· ἄλλοι δὲ σπείδραμον ἕως Ἀχαιῶν,
οἱ καὶ θνήσκοντο φιλῶ καὶ εἶδος ἀγνόν
ἐκτορος, ἐδ' ἄρα οἱ πρὸς ἀνελπί γε παρέστη·
ὦδ' ἔπεισεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλοῦτον ἄλλον,
ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερος ἀμφαράσσει
ἐκτορ, ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέσκησεν πύρρ' κλέω.

Thus having said, with unrelenting Force
He rends his vengefull Spear from *Hector's* Corse;
Too small the Recompence one Death cou'd give,
But, *Hector* Dead, his *Manes* still must grieve:
He then the bloody, lifeless Corps despoil'd;

(a) *Joshua* cap. VI. 26. (b) *I. Reg.* cap. XVI. 34. (c) *Iliad.* χ'. v. 398.
(d) *Ibid.* v. 367.

And Souldiers, with avenging Fury fill'd,
 With eager Haste about his Body press,
 Admire his Stature, and his Comeliness;
 Each vents his Rage upon th' already slain,
 As tho' they meant to kill him o'er again:
 Then thus one pointing to his Neighbour said,
 With vaunting Words insulting o'er the Dead,
 "Is this the *Hector*, whose tremendous Name
 "Brought Fear and Terrour wheresoe'er it came?
 "Gods! how he's chang'd since when he threw his Fire
 "Amidst our Ships, and made whole *Greece* retire.

Mr. Hutchin.

Tydeus has no better Treatment in *Statius* (a);

*Ducitur hostili (proh dura potentia Fati!)
 Tydeus ille solo, modo cui Thebana sequenti
 Agmina, sive gradum, seu frena effunderet, ingens
 Limes utrinque datus: Nusquam arma, manusque quiescunt,
 Nulla viri feritas; juvat ora rigentia leto,
 Et formidatos impune laceessere vultus;
 Hic amor, hoc una timidi, fortesque sequuntur
 Nobilitare manus, infectaque sanguine iela
 Conjugibus servant, parvisque ostendere natis.*

At God-like *Tydeus* (wretched Turn of Fate!)
 Avenging *Tyrians* level all their Hate;
 At God-like *Tydeus*, whose commanding Sway
 Thro' *Theban* Troops did propagate Disinay;
 Whether he mounted on his Horse appear'd,
 Or for destructive War on Foot prepar'd,
 Th' opposing Squadrons dar'd not long to stay,
 But, where he lead, submissively gave way;
 Yet he brave Chief is dragg'd along the Field,
 And bears what Foes with Pow'r and Fury fill'd
 Cou'd e'er inflict; his dreadfull Arms they seize,
 All stab his Corps, and tear his manly Face;
 The most opposing Minds in this conspire,
 The tim'rous and the brave alike desire
 To stab the Body of their Foe when slain,
 And with his Blood their glutt'd Blades to stain,
 These they as Marks of highest Honour prize,
 And keep to shew their Wives, and blooming Boys.

Mr. Hutchin.

Whence it appears to have been their constant Practice, and look'd
 on as very consistent with Virtue, and Honour; as *Servius* hath

(a) *Thebaid*, IX. v. 180.

likewise observ'd, when *Virgil's Mezenius* was us'd in the same manner; the Poet indeed do's not expressly affirm any such Thing, which notwithstanding plainly appears; for whereas he only receiv'd two Wounds from *Aeneas* (a), we find his Breast-plate afterwards pierc'd thro' in twelve, i.e. a great many Places, a determinate Number being put for one indefinite (b);

—bis sex thoraca petiit
Perfossitque locis.

Thro' twice six Places was his Breast-plate pierc'd.

The barbarous Nations rarely fail'd of committing this Crime; *Leonidas* King of *Sparta*, having valiantly lost his Life in fighting against *Xerxes*, had his Head fix'd upon a Pole, and his Body gibbeted (c): But the *Grecians* were long before convinc'd of the Villany, and Baseness of such Actions; and therefore, when *Pausanias* the *Spartan* was urg'd to retaliate *Leonidas's* Injury upon *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* General overcome at *Plataea*, he refus'd to be concern'd in, or permit a Revenge so barbarous, and unworthy a *Grecian*: Even in the Times of the *Trojan War* the *Grecians* were much reform'd from the Inhumanity as well of their own Ancestours, as other Nations; it had formerly been customary for the Conquerours to hinder their Enemies from interring their Dead, 'till they had paid large Sums for their Ransom; and some Foot-steps of this Practice are found in *Homer*; *Hector's* Body was redeem'd from *Achilles* (d), *Achilles's* was again redeem'd from the *Trojans* for the same Price he had receiv'd for *Hector* (e);

Λαβὼν δὲ ταύρῳ τῷ πεφασμένῳ δάνος
Σκεδρὲν τάλαντῳ πευτάνης ἡρτημένον,
Ἀΐδης δὲ ἀντίποινον ἐκχέας ἴσον,
Πακτάλιον σαδμοῖσι πηλαυγῇ μύδρον,
Κρατῆρα Βάκχῳ δίδεται. —

A Ransom large as that which *Priam* gave,
That Royal *Hector's* mangled Corps might have
The happy Priv'lege of a decent Grave,
By *Argian* Chiefs shall be repay'd to *Troy*,
And then the slain *Achilles* shall enjoy
That honourable Urn the gratefull God
Upon his Mother *Thetis* had bestow'd.

Mr. Hsuehin.

(a) Fine *Æn.* X. (b) *Æneid.* XI. v. 9. (c) *Herodotus Calliope.* (d) *Iliad.*
ω'. (e) *Lycophronis Cassandra* v. 269.

Nisus is introduc'd by *Virgil*, dissuading his Friend *Euryalus* from accompanying him into Danger, lest, if he were slain, there should be no Person that would recover by Fight, or redeem his Body (a),

*Sit, qui me raptum pugna, pretiove redemptum
Mandet humo solita.*——

Let there be one, who mov'd with pitying Care
Wou'd me redeem made Pris'ner of the War,
Or ransom'd decently my Corps interr. }

Whence it appears, that Redemption of the Dead was practis'd in those Days, and, if neglected, they were frequently suffer'd to lye unbury'd; which Misfortune happen'd to many of *Homer's* Heroes, as we learn from the very Entrance of the first *Iliad*, where he thus speaks of *Achilles's* Anger,

Πολλὰς δ' ἰρδίμους ψυχὰς αἶδι' ὑπὸ τοῖσιν
Ἡρώων, αὐτὰς δ' ἑλώεσσα τρυγχε κύνεσσιν,
Οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι.——

And num'rous Crouds of valiant Hero's Ghosts
Sent mournfull down unto the *Sygyian* Coasts,
Whilst uninterr'd on Earth their Bodies lay,
Expos'd to Dogs, and rav'nous Birds a Prey.

But this was not so common as in more early Ages, for we find *Achilles* himself celebrating the Funeral of *Eetion* King of *Thebes* in *Cilicia*, and Father of *Andromache*, whom the Poet introduces speaking thus (b);

Ἦτοι γὰρ πατέρ' ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ κτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
Ἐκ δὲ πάλιν πέρσεν Κιλικῶν εὖ ναιετάων,
Θάλλω ὑψίπυλον, καὶ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἡπύωνα·
Οὐδὲ μιν ἐξενάειξε, σεβάσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ,
Ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν κατέκρησεν σὺν ἔντεσι δαυδαλέοισιν,
Ἥ δ' ὅππῃ σῆμα ἔχεν.——

Then when the Walls of *Thebes* he overthrew,
His fatal Hand my Royal Father slew,
He slew *Eetion*, but despoil'd him not,
Nor in his Hate the Fun'ral Rites forgot;
Arm'd as he was he sent him whole below,

(a) *Aeneid*, IX. v. 213. (b) *Iliad*, ζ'. v. 414.

And rev'renc'd thus the *Manes* of his Foe;
A Tomb he rais'd.

Mt. Dryden.

And *Agamemnon* granted the *Trojans* free Leave to perform the Funeral Rites of all their Slain, promising upon Oath to give them no Disturbance (a);

Αὐτὸν δὲ νεκροῖσιν κατακείμεν ἔπι μετάρω
Οὐ γάρ τις φειδὼ νικῶν κατατεθνεώτων
Γίνετ', ἐπεὶ κε δάναωσι, πύρρος μολισμένω ὄντι.
Ὁρκία δὲ Ζεὺς ἴσῳ ἐεργάσσοι, πόσις ἧης.

I envy not the Priv'lege of the Dead,
I grant, that they upon the Pile be lay'd,
Let *Jove* be Witness to the Vows I make,
Nor will I e'er the binding Cov'nant break.

Mr. Huchin.

Not long before, the *Grecians* were perfect Strangers to this Piece of Humanity, for we are told that *Hercules* was the first that ever gave leave to his Enemies to carry off their Dead (b); and others report, that the first Treaty made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the Slain, was that of *Theseus* with the *Thebans* to inter the Heroes that lost their Lives in the *Theban War* (c). In all succeeding Ages, it was look'd on as the greatest Impiety to deny what they thought a Debt to Nature, and was rarely, or never done to lawfull Enemies, except upon extraordinary and unusual Provocations; for it was thought below a generous Temper, and unworthy *Grecians* to vent their Malice, when their Enemies were depriv'd of all Power to defend themselves.

The *Grecians* seem to have been carefull to Excess and Superstition in procuring an honourable Interment for the Bodies of their own Souldiers, that had valiantly lost their Lives; insomuch that the ten Admirals, that gain'd that famous Victory over the *Lacedemonians* in the Sea-fight at *Arginusæ*, were put to death on no other Pretence, but that they were said not to have taken due Care in gathering the Bodies that floated on the Waves; when yet they alleg'd, that they were hinder'd by a Tempest that might have been dangerous to the whole Fleet, had they not provided for their Safety by a timely Retreat (d): This, no doubt, was one Cause why, after a battle upon the *Corinthian Territory*, *Nicias* the *Athenian General*, finding that two of his Men were left by an Oversight, when they carry'd off the Dead, made an Halt, and

(a) *Iliad* v. v. 408. (b) *Ælian* Var. Hist. lib. XII. cap. XXVII. (c) *Plutarchus Theseo*. (d) *Xenophon Græc. Hist. lib. I.*

sent an Herald to the Enemy for Leave to carry them off, hereby renouncing all Title to the Victory, which belong'd to him before, and looking the Honour of erecting a *Trophy*; for it was presum'd that he, who ask'd Leave to carry off his Dead, could not be Master of the Field (a). After that, *Chabrias*, having put to flight the *Lacedemonians* at *Naxos*, rather than leave any of his Souldiers, or their Bodies to the Mercy of the Waves, chose to desist from prosecuting his Victory, when he was in a fair Way to have destroy'd the Enemy's whole Fleet (b).

When they carry'd their Arms into distant Countries, they reduc'd the Bodies of their Dead to *Alhes*, that those at least might be convey'd to their Relations, and reposit in the Tombs of their Ancestours: The first Author of which Custom (they say) was *Hercules*, who having sworn to *Licymnius* to bring back his Son *Argius*, if he would give him Leave to accompany him in his Expedition against *Troy*, the young Man dying, he had no other Expedient to make good his Oath, but by delivering his *Alhes* to his Father (c): However we find it practis'd in the *Trojan War*, where *Nestor* advis'd the *Grecians* to burn all their Dead, and preserve them there 'till their Return into *Greece* (d);

Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγέμενοι κυκλήσμεν ἐνθάδε νεκρὸς
Βασί κ' ἡμύνοισιν· ἀτὰρ κατακόμεν αὐτὰς
Τυττόν ἔπομεν νεῶν, ὥς κ' ὄξεια παισὶν ἔχασον
Οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅταν αὐτὲ νεώμεθα πατεῖδα γαῖαν.

Oxen, and Mules, in solemn Order led,
To us assembled here shall bring our Dead,
That we their Bodies near our Ships may burn,
And save their snowy Bones 'till we to *Greece* return.

Mr. *Hutchin*.

The *Lacedemonians* thought this an unprofitable Labour, and therefore bury'd their Dead in the Countrey, where they dy'd; only their Kings they embalm'd with Honey, and convey'd them Home, as we learn from *Plutarch* (e), who reports that when *Agessilaus* resign'd his Life at the *Haven* of *Menelaus*, a detart Shore in *Africa*, the *Spartans*, having no Honey to embalm his Body, wrapp'd it in Wax, and so carry'd it to *Lacedemon*.

The Souldiers all attended at the Funeral Solemnities with their Arms turn'd upside down, it being customary for Mourners in most of their Actions to behave themselves in a manner contrary to what was usual at other Times; in those Places where it was the Fashion to wear long Hair, Mourners were shav'd; and where others shav'd, Mourners wore long Hair: Their Conjecture

(a) *Plutarchus Nicia*. (b) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XV. (c) *Homeri Scholiastes* *Iliad.* α'. v. 52. (d) *Iliad.* η'. v. 332. (e) *Agessilaos*,

therefore is frivolous, that imagine, the Souldiers turn'd the Heads of their Shields downwards, lest the Gods, whose Images were engraven upon them, should be polluted with the Sight of a Corpse (a); since not the Gods only, but any other Figures were frequently represented there; nor some few only, but the whole Company held them in the same Posture: Besides, not the Shields alone, but their other Arms were pointed downwards: Thus *Evander's Arcadians*, with the rest of *Aeneas's Souldiers* in *Virgil* (b) follow *Pallas's Herse*,

—————*Tum mæsta phalanx, Teucrique sequuntur,
Tyrrenique duces, & versis Arcades armis.*

Next went the mournful Troop, Captains from *Troy*,
Tyrrenia, and from pleasant *Arcady*,
With Arms turn'd downward.—————

The *Grecian Princes* in *Statius* (c) observe the same Custom;

—————*versis ducunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugenæ reges.*—————

The *Grecian Chiefs* the sad Procession led
With Ensigns downwards turn'd.—————

Their Tombs were adorn'd with Inscriptions shewing their Names, and sometimes their Parentage, and Exploits, which Honour the *Spartan* Lawgiver granted to none beside Women who dy'd in Child-bed, and Souldiers (d) that lost their Lives in Battle: These were bury'd with green Boughs, and honour'd with an Oration in their Praise: Such of them as had excell'd the rest, and were judg'd complete and perfect Warriours, had a farther Honour of being interr'd in their Red Coats, which were the Souldier's Habit at *Sparta* (e): Their Arms were likewise fix'd upon their Tombs; whence *Leonidas* the *Spartan* King is introduc'd in the Epigram refusing *Xerxes's* purple Robe, and desiring no other Ornament to beautify his Tomb, than his Buckler;

Παλὸν Λεωνίδεω καπιδὼν δέμας αὐτοδύκλον
Ξέρξης, ἐχλαίνε φάρει πορφυρέῳ
Κηκ νεκρῶν δ' ἤχρισεν ὁ τὰς Σπάρτας μέγας Ἡρώς·
“Οὐδέχομαι παρθένους μισθὸν δρεϊλόμβρον,
“Ασπίς μοι τύμβε κόσμος μέγας, ἔρρε τὰ Περσῶν,
“Ἡξω κ' εἰς αἰδῶν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος.

(a) *Servius* in *Æneid*. XI. 92. (b) *Loc. cit.* (c) *Thebaid*. VI. (d) *Platarchus* *Lycurgo*. (e) *Ælianus*. Var. Hist. lib VI cap. VI.

Whilst *Xerxes* mov'd with pitying Care beheld
 Th' unhappy *Spartan*, who himself had kill'd;
 The Royal *Persian* with officious Haste
 His purple Robe about the Body cast;
 'Till dying *Leonidas* Silence broke,
 And thus that gen'rous *Spartan* Hero spoke;
 "Forbear, fond Prince, this unbecoming Pride,
 "No *Persian* Pomp shall e'er these Reliques hide,
 "Soft purple Palls are only us'd by those,
 "Who have betray'd their Country to their Foes;
 "My Buckler's all the Ornament I'll have,
 "'Tis that which better shall adorn my Grave
 "Than 'Scutcheon, or a formal Epitaph;
 "My Tomb thus honour'd, I'll triumphant go
 "Like some brave *Spartan* to the Shades below.

Mr. Hutchin.

This Custom was not peculiar to *Sparta*, but practis'd all over *Greece*; where, beside their Arms, it was usual to add the Badge of whatever other Profession they had born. *Elpenor*, appearing in the Shades below to *Ulysses*, intreats him to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, and to cast his Arms into the Funeral Pile (a);

Ἀλλὰ με χάσκειναι σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄσπετος ὄν,
 Σῆμαί τε μοι: χεῖραι πολὺς ἐπὶ θνὶ θαλάσσης
 Ἄνδρ' δούλοιο καὶ ἑσπερίοισι πυδέσθαι.
 Ταῦτά κ' ἐμοὶ τέλει, πῆξαι τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ ἑρετμῶν,
 Τῷ καὶ ζῶδες ἔρεσσαν, ἐὼν μετ' ἐμοῖς ἐπύροιον.

Whatever Arms remain to me when dead,
 Shall with my Corps upon the Pile be laid;
 Then o'er my Grave a lasting Mon'ment rear,
 Which to Posterity my Name shall bear;
 This do, then fix the Oar upon my Tomb,
 With which I us'd to cut the Silver Foam.

Mr. Hutchin.

Misenus, *Aeneas*'s Trumpeter, has both his Arms, Oar, and Trumpet fix'd upon his Grave (b);

At pius *Aeneas* ingenti mole sepulcrum
 Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque.
 A Tomb of vast extent *Aeneas* rear'd,
 Where the dead Corps was decently interr'd,
 And on't his Arms, his Oar, and Trumpet fix'd.

(a) *Odys.* x. v. 74. (b) *Virgil. Aeneid.* VI. v. 232.

It was customary for the *Spartan* Matrons, when there had been a Fight near Home, to examine the Bodies of their dead Sons, and such, as had receiv'd more Wounds behind than before, they convey'd away privately, or left them in the common Heap; but those, who had a greater Number of Wounds in their Breasts, they carry'd away with Joy and Triumph, to be reposited amongst their Ancestors (a): They were carry'd Home upon their Bucklers; whence that famous Command of the Mother to her Son related in *Plutarch* (b), ἢ τὰν, ἢ ὅτι τὰς, i. e. either bring this (meaning his Buckler) home with you, or be brought upon it: To which Custom *Ausonius* alludes (c);

Arma superveneris quid, Thrasybule, tua?

Why are you thus upon your Buckler born,
Brave *Thrasybulus*?

The *Athenians* us'd to place the Bodies of their Dead in Tents three Days before the Funeral, that all Persons might have Opportunity to find out their Relations, and pay their last Respects to them: Upon the fourth Day a Coffin of Cypress was sent from every Tribe, to convey the Bones of their own Relations, after which went a cover'd Hearse in memory of those, whose Bodies could not be found: All these, accompany'd with the whole Body of the People, were carry'd to the publick Burying-place call'd *Ceramicus*, and there interr'd: One Harangue was spoken in Commendation of them all, and their Monuments adorn'd with Pillars, Inscriptions, and all other Ornaments usuall about Tombs of the most honourable Persons. This was their ordinary Practice at *Athens* (d), but those valiant Souls, that were slain in the Battle at *Marathon*, had their Bodies interr'd in the Place where they fell, to perpetuate the Memory of that wonderfull Victory:

It may be observ'd farther, that in their Lists the Names of the Souldiers deceas'd were mark'd with the Letter θ, being the Initial of θάνατος, i. e. Dead; those of the living with τ, because it is the first in τρέφω, i. e. Preserv'd: Which Custom was afterwards taken up by the *Romans* (e).

(a) *Ælian* Var. Hist. lib. XII. cap. XXI. (b) *Apophthegmat.* (c) *Epigram.* XXIV. (d) *Thucydides* lib. III. (e) *Ruffinus* in *Hieronymus* 4, *Tausas Diabonius* De notis literarum. *Isidorus Hispal.* lib. I. cap. XXIII.

CHAPTER XII.

Of their Booty taken in War, their Gratitude to the Gods after Victory, their Trophies, &c.

THEIR Booty consisted of Prisoners, and Spoils. The Prisoners, that could not ransom themselves, were made Slaves, and employ'd in the Service of their Conquerours, or sold.

The Spoils were distinguish'd by two Names, being either taken from the Dead, and term'd σκύλα, or from the Living, which they call'd λάφυρα: They consisted of whatever Moveables belong'd to the Conquer'd, whole whole Right and Title by the Law of Arms pass'd to the Conquerours (a).

Homer's Heroes have no sooner gain'd a Victory over any of their Rivals, but without farther Delay they seize their Armour; Instances of this are as numerous as their Combats. But however this Practice might be usual among the great Commanders, who rode in Chariots to the Battle, fought by themselves, and encounter'd Men of their own Quality in single Combat; yet inferior Souldiers were not ordinarily permitted such Liberty, but gather'd the Spoils of the Dead, after the Fight was ended: If they attempted it before, they were even then look'd upon to want Discipline; Nestor gives the Grecians a particular Caution in this Matter (b);

Νέστωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἐκέλευτο, μακρὸν αὖσας
 Ω φίλοι ἥρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἀρης,
 Μή τις νῦν ἐνέρων ὀπίσθ' ἀλλότρυμος, μετόπισθε
 Μιμνέτω, ὥς κεν πλείεσσ' ἔρρων ὅτι νῆας ἵκηται,
 Ἀλλ' ἄνδρες κλείνωμεν, ἔπειτα δ' ἢ ἢ τὰ ἔκχλ' αἰ
 Νεκρὸς ἀμπεδίον συλίσσετε τεθνεώτας.

Then Nestor thus began his sage Advice;
 My Friends, and valiant Greeks, be timely wise,
 Auspicious Sons of Mars, let no Delay,
 No Hopes of sordid Booty cause your Stay;
 But with united Force rush on the Foe,
 Add certain Death to each becoming Blow;

(a) Plato De Legib. lib. I. (b) Iliad. ζ'. v. 66.

'Twill then be time enough for to prepare
To seize the Booty of the horrid War,
To drag your mangled Foes along the Plain,
When weltring in their Blood they lie all slain.

Mr. Huchin.

This Method was taken in succeeding Ages; for no sooner were their Battles ended, but they fell to stripping and rifling the dead Carcases of their Enemies: Only the *Lacedemonians* were forbidden to meddle with the Spoils of those they had conquer'd (a); the reason of which Prohibition being demanded of *Cleomenes*, he reply'd, "That it was improper to offer the Spoils of Cowards to the Gods, and unworthy a *Lacedemonian* to be enrich'd by them (b)": But this seems only a Pretence, since there are several Instances of their dedicating Part of their Booty to the Gods; The true Reason perhaps may be collected from the Constitution of their State, whereby an Equality was maintain'd amongst them, and nothing more severely prohibited, or more repugnant to the very Foundation of their Government than to acquire, or possess large Estates: Wherefore, to prevent their Souldiers from seizing upon the Spoils, they had always three hundred Men appointed to observe their Actions, and put the Law in execution against Delinquents (c).

The whole Booty was brought to the General, who had the first Choice, divided the Remainder amongst such as had signaliz'd themselves according to their Quality and Merits, and allotted the rest equal Portions: Thus in the *Trojan War*, when the captive Ladies were to be chosen, *Agamemnon* in the first Place took *Astynome Chryses's* Daughter, next *Achilles* had *Hippodamia* Daughter to *Brises*, then *Ajax* chose *Tecmessa*, and so on (d); whence *Achilles* complains of *Agamemnon*, that he had always the best Part of the Booty, himself, who sustain'd the Burden of the War, being content with a small Pittance (e);

Οὐ μὲν σὶ ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀχαιοῖ
Τρώων ἐκπέσσωτ' ἐνναύμενον πολίεδρον.
Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πεινᾷκος πολέμοιο
Χεῖρες ἐμαὶ δέπνυσ'· ἀτὰρ ὡς ποτε δαυμὸς ἔκνται,
Σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε, φίλον τε
Ερχομ' ἔχων ὅτι νῆας, ἐπὶ κατέμω πολέμῳ.

Yet when the Greeks some *Trojan Town* invade,
And Distribution of the Spoils is made,

(a) *Alianus* lib. VI. cap. VI. (b) *Plutarchus* Apophthegm. *Laconicis*.
(c) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. x'. v. 66. (d) *Isaac. Tzetzes* in *Lycophronis* *Cassandram*
v. 299. (e) *Iliad*. α'. v. 163.

How small a Part compar'd to thine I bear,
 I who have born the Burden of the War,
 Nor do you envy me in this the largest Share.
 But when the so much wish'd for Time arrives,
 That to each Greek th' allotted Portion gives,
 Laden with Spoils you haste into your Tent,
 Whilst I, with fighting quite fatigu'd and 'spent,
 Come to the Navy with a gratefull Heart
 For that small Pittance they to me impart.

Mr. Hurchin.

And whenever any Booty of extraordinary Value was taken, we find the Souldiers reserving it for a Present to their General, or the Commander of their Party: Instances of this sort are frequent, as in other Writers, so especially in *Homer*; *Ulysses's* Company always honour'd him with the best and choicest Part of what they took. *Herodotus* (a) reports that after the Victory over *Mardonius* *Xerxes's* Lieutenant, *Pausanias* the Spartan, being at that Time General of all the Grecian Forces, was presented with a great Booty of Women, Money, Horses, Camels, &c. over and above what was given to any other: This Practice indeed was so universal, that to be a Commander, and to have the first Share of the Booty are us'd by the Poets as equivalent Expressions: Whence *Lycophron* (b),

Πολλὺς δ' ἀρετῆς, ποροτάλεια δ' Ἑλλάδος
 Αἰχμῇ φέροντας, ἢ ποροταῖς ὀγκωμένους
 Αἰ σὺ κατὰ ζανῶντιν ὁμῆρι μοι χεῖρες.

Thy Hands shall mighty Potentates subdue,
 And brave Commanders that the Prize first share,
 Chiefs too, that so much boast their Pedigree.

But before the Spoils were distributed, they look'd on themselves oblig'd to make an Offering out of them to the Gods, to whose Assistance they were indebted for them all; those separated to this Use, were term'd ἀκροδίνια, either q. ἀκροδίνια, παρὰ τὸ σίνεσθαι ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰς, because the War, wherein they were collected, had destroy'd many (c); or, ἀπὸ τῆς θινός, because after Sea-engagements they were expos'd upon the Shoar (d); or rather, from their being taken ἀπὸ ἀκροῦ τῆς θινός, from the Top of the Heap; because all the Spoils being collected into one Heap, the First-fruits were offer'd to the Gods (e): In allusion to which Custom, *Megara* in *Euripides*, telling what Choice of Wives

(a) *Calliope*. (b) *Cassandra*. v. 298. (c) *Eustathius* *Odysseus*. N. (d) *Bulengerius* *Lib. de spoliis*. (e) *Sophocles* *Scholiastes* *Trachin*.

she had made for her Sons out of *Athens*, *Sparta*, and *Thebes*, thus expresseth it,

Εἰς δὲ νύμφας ἡεροδονιαζέμεναι.

The Gods, to whom this Honour was paid, were not only those, whom they look'd on as having a peculiar Concern in all Affairs of War, such as *Mars*, *Minerva*, &c. but several others, as *Jupiter Juno*, and any to whom they thought themselves oblig'd for Success, those especially that were Protectours of their City, or Countrey, &c.

They had several Methods of consecrating Spoils: Sometimes they collected them into an Heap, and consum'd them with Fire; sometimes they made Presents, which were dedicated and hung up in Temples: So *Pausanias* the *Spartan* is reported to have consecrated out of the *Persian* Spoils a *Tripod* to *Delphian Apollo*, and a Statue of Brass seven Cubits long to *Olympian Jupiter* (a).

It was very frequent to dedicate their Enemy's Armour, and hang it in Temples; but the *Lacedemonians* were forbidden this Custom; which perhaps may be the meaning of *Cleomenes's* fore-mention'd Reply; for that they were allow'd to offer their other Spoils appears as from that of *Pausanias*, so from several other Instances. This Custom was very ancient (b), and universally receiv'd not in *Greece* alone, but most other Countries: Hence *Hector* promises to dedicate his Enemy's Armour in *Apollo's* Temple, if he would vouchsafe him Victory (c);

Εἰ δὲ κ' ἐγὼ τ' ἔλω, δῶν δὲ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων,
Τόλμα σολίσας, οἶσω ποτὶ Ἰλῖον ἔλω,
Καὶ κρεμύω ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο.

If kinder *Phabus* my Proceedings bless,
And crown my bold Attempt with good Success,
Make *Hector* conquer, whilst his Foe shall bleed,
And give me th' Honour of so brave a Deed,
When I've despoyl'd my Foe, his Arms I'll bring,
And there devote them in his Temple.——

Mr. *Hutchins*,

Virgil alludes to this Custom in his Description of the Temple, where *Latinus* gave Audience to *Aeneas's* Embassadors (d);

Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,
Captivi pendens curvus, curvæque secures,

(a) *Herodotus* lib. IX. (b) *Eustathius* *Iliad.* v. 81. (c) *Iliad.* loc. cit.
(d) *Aeneid.* VII. v. 183.

*Et cristæ capitum, & portarum ingenia claustra,
Spiculaque, clypeique, ereptaque rostra carinis.*

Axes, and Arms did sacred Posts adorn,
And Chariots from the conquer'd Nations born,
Crests too, and massy Bars of Gates, and Spears,
And Beaks of Ships, and Bucklers.

Many other Instances to the same purpose occur in Authors. This Custom seems to have been deriv'd into Greece from the Eastern Nations, where no doubt it was practis'd; what else can be the meaning of *Goliath's* Sword being reposit'd in the *Jewish* Place of Worship (a)?

Nor was it customary only to dedicate to the Gods Weapons taken from Enemies, but their own likewise, when they retir'd from the Noise of War to a private Life; which seems to have been done, as a gratefull Acknowledgement to the Gods, by whose Protection they had been deliver'd from Dangers. *Horace* alludes to this Custom (b);

————— *Vejanius, armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.
Vejanius now consults his private Ease,
Desists from War, and seeks retir'd Peace,
Having hung up his Arms to *Hercules*.

Ovid also speaks to the same purpose (c);

*Miles ut emeritis non est satis milis armis,
Ponit ad antiquos, quæ tulit, arma Laves.*

The batter'd Souldier harass'd out with Age,
Not able longer in the War t' engage,
Devotes the Arms, which formerly he bore,
To 's Household Gods for their assisting Pow'r.

But lest these Arms should furnish Male-contents in sudden Tumults and Insurrections, they seem to have been usually some Way or other render'd unfit for present Service: The Bucklers, for instance, were hung up without Handles; whence a Person in one of the Poets seeing them otherwise, cries out in a Fright,

Οἱ μοι πᾶλας, ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας.

Unhappy Wretch! the Bucklers Handles have.

The reason may be collected from the fore-going Verses, where another saith,

(a) *I. Sam.* XXI. 9. (b) *Lib. I. Epist. I. v. 4.* (c) *Trist. lib. IV.*

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῶν, εἰς τὸ φιλεῖς τὸ δῆμον, ἐκ ἀεγροίας
 Ταύτας εἶν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πέρπαξιν ἀνατεθῆναι.

If you sincerely with the publick Good,
 You shou'd not suffer any to devote
 Bucklers with Handles.——

As a farther Expression of their Gratitude to the Gods, it was customary to offer solemn Sacrifices, and return publick Thanks to them: Here it may be observ'd, that the *Lacedemonians* for their greatest Successes by Force of Arms offer'd no more than a Cock to the God of War, but, when they obtain'd a Victory by Stratagem, and without Blood, they sacrific'd an Ox (a); whereby they gave their Generals to understand, that Policy as well as Valour was requir'd in a complete Warriour, and that those Victories were to be preferr'd, whereby they suffer'd the least Damage, surpassing herein the *Roman* Constitution, which rewarded with greater Honours the Victors in open Field, than those who gain'd a Conquest by Policy, as esteeming the former Method more noble and becoming *Romans*; wherefore those were permitted to enter the City in *Triumph*, but the later were only honour'd with an *Ovation* (b). It may not be improper in this Place to add, that the *Grecians* had a Custom something resembling the *Roman* Triumph, for the Conquerours us'd to make a Procession thro' the Middle of their City, crown'd with Garlands, repeating Hymns and Songs, and brandishing their Spears; the Captives were also led by them, and all their Spoils expos'd to publick View, to do which they call'd *διατείχειν* (c).

Trophies were call'd by the ancient *Athenians* *τροπαιῖα*, by succeeding Ages *τρόπαια* (d): They were dedicated to some of the Gods, especially *Jupiter* firnam'd *Τροπαῖος*, and *Τροπαῖοςχος* (e), and *Juno*, who shar'd in her Husband's Title, being call'd *Τροπαῖα* (f); whence *Lycophron* (g),

——— *Τροπαῖαι μασὸν εὐθνηλον διᾶς.*

The manner of adorning Trophies was hanging up all sorts of Arms taken from the Enemy, according to *Euripides* (h);

——— *Τρόπαια ἰδρύεται
 Παντευχίαν ἔχοντα τὴν πολέμιων.*

(a) *Plutarchus Institut. Laconic.* (b) *Idem Mar. ello.* (c) *Phavorinus.*
 (d) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Pluto.* (e) *Pausanias Laconicus, Plutarchus Tavalletu.*
Thurnmus. (f) *Phavorinus.* (g) *Cassandra v. 1328.* (h) *Heraclid. v. 786.*

All sorts of Arms, that from the Foe he took,
He hung about the Trophy which he rais'd.

Hence also *Juvenal* (a) speaking of the Roman Triumphal Arches,

*Bellorum exuviae, truncis affixa tropæis
Lorica, & fracta de casside buccula pendens,
Et curium remone jugum, victæque irremis
Aplustre.*———

The Spoils of War brought to *Feretrian* Force,
An empty Coat of Armour hung above
The Conquerour's Chariot, and in Triumph born
A Streamer from a boarded Gally torn,
A chap-fall'n Beaver loosely hanging by
The cloven Helm.———

Mr. Dryden.

To these they usually added the Names of the God they were dedicated to, of the Conquerours also, and of those overcome by them, with an Account of all the Spoils, and other remarkable Occurrences in the War; this Inscription was call'd *ἐπιγραφή*, or *ἐπιγράμμα*, and was frequently engrav'd, whence *Lucian* saith *ἐπὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις ἐγκολάσαι*; sometimes written with Ink, whence *Othryades* the *Lacedemonian*, just surviving his Victory over the *Argians*, caus'd a Trophy to be erected, upon which, being supported by his Spear, he inscrib'd with his own Blood, instead of Ink, *Διὶ Τροπαίεχφ* (b).

The Spoils were hung upon the Trunk of a Tree; the Olive was frequently put to this Use, being the Emblem of Peace, which is one of the Consequents of Victory: Several other Trees also had the same Honour, especially the Oak, as being consecrated to *Jupiter*, who had a peculiar Right to these Respects; there is frequent mention of this in the Poets: *Sidonius* (c),

——— *quercusque tropæis*
Cinua gemis.———

The bended Oak beneath the Trophies groans.

Statius describes the same Custom (d);

*Quercus erat tenera jamdudum oblita juvenia,
Hinc leves galeas, perfossaque vulnere crebro
Inferis arma.*———

(a) *Satir. X. v. 133.* (b) *Plutarchus Parallelis, Stobæus Tit. De Fortuna.*
(c) *Panegyric.* (d) *Thebaid.*

There

There stood an ancient Oak, whose sprightly Juice
Decay'd by Age cou'd not like Life infuse
Thro' ev'ry Part, on this bright Helmets hung,
And batter'd Arms.——

Virgil also concurs herein with them in several Places, and adds farther, that *Æneas's* Trophy was upon an Hill; whence it may seem probable, that it was customary to set them upon eminent Places, to render them more conspicuous: His Words are these (a);

*Vota Deum primo victor solvebat Eo;
Ingemem quercum, decisis undique ramis,
Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezentis ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, trophæum,
Bellipotens; aptat rorantes sanguine cristas,
Telaque trunca viri, & bis sex thoraca petiunt
Perfossamque locis, clypeumque ex ære sinistra
Subligat, atque enses collo suspendis eburnum.*

Soon as the Morn her weaker Beams display'd,
His Vows to Heav'n the pious Victor pay'd:
A stately Oak, whose Branches all around
Were first lopt off, he plac'd on rising Ground,
With glitt'ring Arms the hallow'd Trunk he grac'd,
The Spoils of King *Mezenius* deceas'd,
Which Trophie, mighty *Arbiter* of War,
The gratefull Prince did to thy Honour rear,
He hung his nodding Plume besinear'd with Blood,
And broken Spears upon the leaf-less Wood,
Then round the Stock his much-pierc'd Corset bound,
The sad Remembrance of each ghastly Wound,
And on the left Side fix'd the brazen Shield,
With which *Mezenius* lost the fatal Field,
Then round his Neck the leathern Belt he cast,
And in't his iv'ry-hilted Sword he plac'd.

Mr. Huchin.

In the same manner *Pompey*, having subdu'd the *Spaniards*, erected a Trophy upon the Top of the *Pyrenean* Mountains.

Instead of Trees, succeeding Ages erected Pillars of Stone, or Brass, to continue the Memory of their Victories; to raise these they term'd *isævas rektoras*, which Expression was likewise apply'd to the Erection of Trees; for if the Place they pitch'd on was void of Trees fit for their purpose, it was usual to supply that Defect by fixing one there, as appears from the fore-mention'd Passage of *Virgil*.

(a) *Æneid*. XI. v. 4.

To demolish a Trophy was look'd on as unlawfull, and a kind of Sacrilege, because they were all consecrated to some Deity: Nor was it less a Crime to pay Divine Adoration before them, or to repair them, when decay'd, as may be likewise observ'd of the *Roman Triumphal Arches*; This being a means to revive the Memory of forgotten Quarrels, and engage Posterity to revenge the Disgrace of their Ancestours: For the same reason, the *Grecians*, that first introduc'd the Custom of erecting Pillars for Trophies, incurr'd a severe Censure from the Ages they liv'd in (a).

The *Macedonians* never erected Trophies, oblig'd hereto by a Prescription, observ'd from the Reign of *Caranus*, one of whose Trophies was demolish'd by Wolves (b); which was the reason, that *Alexander the Great*, however vain-glorious in other Instances, never rais'd a Trophy: As for those erected by the *Macedonians* of succeeding Ages in their Wars with the *Romans*, they were inconsistent with the ancient Custom of their Country. In some Ages after this, they seem to have been wholly laid aside.

Yet, they were not wanting to raise Monuments to preserve the Memory of their Victories, and to testify their Gratitude to the Gods; some of which are likewise mention'd in Authors before the Disuse of Trophies. Sometimes Statues were erected to the Gods, especially to *Jupiter*, as appears from that which *Pausanias* dedicated out of the *Persian Spoils* (c), and several others; There is frequent mention of this Custom in *Euripides* (d),

———— Διὸς ἁγῶντων ἱστῆναι βέετας.

Again,

———— ἁγῶντων Ζηνὸς ὀρθῶσαι βέετας.

Several other Instances may be produc'd: Sometimes the same God was honour'd with a Temple on such accounts, as appears from the Story of the *Dorians*, who, having overcome the *Acheans*, rais'd a Temple to *Jupiter Tegeus* (e).

Sometimes they erected Towers, which they adorn'd with the Spoils of their Enemies; which was likewise a *Roman* Custom, and practis'd by *Fabius Maximus*, and *Domitius Aenobarbus* after the Victory over the *Allobroges* (f).

It was also customary to raise Altars to the Gods; an Instance whereof we have in *Alexander*, who, returning from his *Indian Expedition*, erected Altars in Height scarce inferior to the most lofty Towers, and in Breadth exceeding them (g).

(a) *Plutarchus Romanis Quaestionibus*. (b) *Pausanias* p. 315. (c) *Herodotus* lib. IX. (d) *Phoeniss.* (e) *Pausanias Laconicus*. (f) *Lucius Florus* lib. III. cap. II. (g) *Arrianus Exped. Alex.* lib. V.

CHAPTER XIII.

*Of their Military Punishments, and Rewards,
with their manner of conveying Intelligence.*

THE Grecians had no constant method of correcting their Souldiers, but left that to the Discretion of their Commanders; only in some few Cases the Laws made provision. *Ἀπομόλοι*, Runagates, suffer'd Death.

Ἀσπράδοι, such as refus'd to serve in the Wars, and such as quitted their Ranks, by one of Charondas's Laws were oblig'd to sit three Days in the publick Forum in Woman's Apparell (a). The Athenians deliver'd such, with the *ἐνέταστές*, i. e. those who lost their Bucklers, to certain Judges call'd *Heliaſtae*, who punish'd them at Discretion; nor were they permitted to enter the Temples, 'till they had satisfi'd Justice (b). But of all others the *Lacedemonians* inflicted the heaviest Punishments on all such Offenders; for their Laws oblig'd them either to conquer, or to dy upon the Place; and such as quitted their Bucklers, laid under as great Disgrace, as if they had forsaken their Ranks: Runagates were not only depriv'd of all Honours, but it was likewise a Disgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met them in the Streets, had Liberty to beat them, nor was it permitted them to resist in their own Defence; and to make them more remarkable, whenever they went abroad, they were oblig'd to wear a nasty Habit, their Gowns were patch'd with divers Colours, and their Beards half shav'd, half unshav'd (c); the Scandal was likewise extended to their whole Family, and therefore their Mothers frequently aton'd for their Crime, by stabbing them at their first meeting; which was a common Practice, and frequently alluded to in the Greek Epigrams, in one of which a *Spartan* Matron, having run her Son thro', thus insults over him,

Ἔρρε, κακὸν φύττυμα, ἀπὸ σῆτος, ἔκ ἀπὸ μῦσος

Εὐρώτας δειλαῖς μνητ' ἐλάφοισι ῥέοι

Ἀχρεῖον σκολάκευμα, κακὴ μαεῖς, ἔρρε ποδ' ἄδαν.

Ἔρρε, τὸ μὴ Σπάρτας ἄξιον, ἔδλ' ἔτεκον.

Be gone, degen'rate Offspring, quitt this Light,
Eurotas is concern'd at thy loath'd Sight,

(a) *Diodorus Siculus*. (b) *Aeschines in Ctesiphontem*. (c) *Plutarchus Agesilao*

For see he stops his Course, asham'd to glide
 By that polluted Coast, where you abide;
 Hence then, unprofitable Wretch, speed to the Dead,
 And hide in Hell thy ignominious Head;
 Base dastard Soul, unworthy to appear
 On *Spartan* Ground; I never did thee bear.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Several others may be produc'd to the same purpose; and where the same Fate befell those that lost their Bucklers: Now the reason being demanded of *Demaratus*, why they punish'd so severely those who quitted their Bucklers, when the Loss of their Helmet, or Coat of Mail, was not look'd on to be so scandalous, he reply'd, *That these were only design'd for the Defence of single Persons, whereas Bucklers were serviceable to the whole Battalia.*

Beside the Rewards of Valour already mention'd in the foregoing Chapters, there were several others: The private Souldiers were put into Office, and the subordinate Officers were honour'd with greater Commands. It was likewise customary for the General to reward those that signaliz'd themselves, with large Presents; Whence *Telamon*, being the first that gain'd the Top of *Troy's* Walls, when it was belieg'd by *Hercules*, had the Honour to have *Hesione* the King's Daughter for his Captive: *Theseus* was presented by the same Hero with *Aniope* the *Amazonian* Queen, for his Service in the Expedition against the *Amazons*. The Poets frequently introduce Commanders encouraging their Souldiers with Promises of this nature: Thus *Agamemnon* animates *Teniser* to behave himself courageously, by assuring him of a considerable Reward, when the City should be taken (a);

Πρώτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμὲ προσέηιον ἐν χεὶ δῆστω,
 Ἡ τρίποδ', ἢ δὴ δῶα ἵππους αὐτοῖσιν ὀχέοσιν,
 Ἡὲ γυναιχ' ἢ κέν τοι ὀμὸν λέχος εἰσπαναβαίνοι.

Next after mine, your's is the best Reward,
 A Tripod, or a Chariot stands prepar'd.
 For your Acceptance; else some captive Maid
 Shall big with charms ascend your joyous Bed.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Ascanius in *Virgil* makes no less Promises to *Nisus* (b);

Bina dabo argento perfecta, atque aspera signis
 Pocula, devicta Genitor quæ cepit Arisba,
 Et tripodas geminos; auri duo magna talemta;

(a) *Iliad*. 8. v. 287. (b) *Æneid*. IX. 253.

*Cratera antiquum, quem dat Sidonia Dido :
 Si vero capere Italiam, sceptrisque potiri
 Contigerit victori, & prædæ ducere sortem ;
 Vidisti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
 Aureus, ipsum illum clypeum, cristasque rubentes
 Excipiam sorti, jam nunc tua præmia, Nise :
 Præterea bis sex genitor lætissima matrum
 Corpora, captivosque dabit, suaque omnibus arma ;
 Insuper id campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.*

Your common Gift shall two large Goblets be
 Of Silver wrought with curious Imagery,
 And high embols'd, which, when old Priam reign'd,
 My conqu'ring Sire at sack'd *Arisba* gain'd ;
 And more, two Tripods cast in Antick Mold,
 With two great Talents of the finest Gold,
 Beside, a costly Bowl engrav'd with Art,
 Which *Dido* gave, when first she gave her Heart :
 But if in conquer'd *Italy* we reign,
 When Spoils by Lot the Victor shall obtain,
 Thou saw'st the Courser by proud *Turnus* prest,
 That, *Nisus*, and his Arms, and nodding Crest,
 And Shield from chance exempt shall be thy Share ;
 Twelve lab'ring Slaves, twelve Hand-maids young and fair,
 All clad with rich Attire, and train'd with Care,
 And last, a *Latian* Field with fruitfull Plains,
 And a large Portion of the King's Domains.

Mr. Dryden.

Several other Promises they encourag'd them with, according to every Man's Temper, or Condition : Wherefore *Ascanius* thus proceeds to *Æneas* *Nisus's* Companion in Danger ;

*Te vero, mea quem spatiis propioribus ætas
 Insequitur, venerande puer, jam pectore toto
 Accipio, & comitem casus complector in omnes ;
 Nulla meis sine te queretur gloria rebus,
 Seu pacem, seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum,
 Verborumque fides.*——

But thou, whose Years are more to mine ally'd,
 No Fate my vow'd Affection shall divide
 From thee, Heroick Youth ; be wholly mine,
 Take full Possession, all my Soul is thine ;
 One Faith, one Fame, one Fate shall both attend
 My Life's Companion, and my Bosom Friend,
 My Peace shall be committed to thy Care,
 And to thy Conduct my Concerns in War.

Mr. Dryden.
 Sometimes

Sometimes Crowns were presented, and inscrib'd with the Person's Name, and Actions, that had merited them, as appears from the Inscription upon the Crown presented by the Athenians to *Conon*, Κόνων ὁπὸ τῆ ναυμαχίας τῆ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.

Others were honour'd with Leave to raise Pillars, or erect Statues to the Gods, with Inscriptions declaring their Victories; which *Plutarch* supposeth to have been a Grant rarely yielded to the greatest Commanders: *Cimon* indeed was favour'd therewith, but *Miltiades*, and *Themistocles* could never obtain the like; nay, when *Miltiades* only desir'd a Crown of Olive, one *Sochares* stood up in the Midst of the Assembly, and reply'd, when thou shalt conquer alone, *Miltiades*, thou shalt triumph so too; which Words were to agreeable to the Populace, that his Suit was rejected: The reason why *Cimon* was more respected than the rest, our Author (a) thinks, was because under other Commanders they stood upon the Defensive; but by his Conduct they not only repuls'd their Enemies, but invaded them in their own Country: But perhaps a more true and real Account may be taken from the Change of Times, for the primitive Ages seem not to have been so liberal in the distribution of Rewards, as those that succeeded; for when later Generations degenerated from their Ancestours, and produc'd fewer Instances of Magnanimity and true Valour, the Way to Honour became easier, and Men of common Performances without Difficulty obtain'd Rewards, which before were only paid to Persons of the first Rank for Virtue, and Courage (b).

Another Honour conferr'd at Athens upon the Valiant, was to have their Arms plac'd in the Cittadel, and to be call'd *Cecropide*, Citizens of the true old Blood; to which Custom the Poet alludes,

Οὐ καλλινίκους Κεκροπίδας ἔθνη' ἐγώ.

Some were presented with a πανοπλία, or compleat Suit of Armour; as we find of *Alcibiades*, when he was very young, and went in the Expedition against *Potidea* (c).

Others were complemented with Songs of Triumph, the first of which were compos'd in Honour of *Lysander* the Spartan General (d).

Many other Honours were pay'd to such as deserv'd well of their Country; but I shall only mention one more, which consisted in the Care of the Children of such as valiantly sacrific'd their Lives for the Glory, and Preservation of the Athenian Common-wealth (e): They were carefully educated at the publick Charge, 'till they

(a) *Plutarchus Cimone.* (b) *Æschines in Ctesiphontem.* (c) *Plutarchus Alcibiade.* (d) *Plutarchus Lysandro.* (e) *Æschines in Ctesiphontem.*

came to Maturity, and then presented with a complete Suit of Armour, and brought forth before the People, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them; "That hitherto in Remembrance of their Fathers Merits the Common-wealth had educated these young Men, but now dismis'd them so arm'd, to go forth, and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers Examples". For their farther Encouragement, they had the Honour of *προεδρία*, or having the first Seats at Shews, and all publick Meetings.

It may not be improper to add something concerning their way of sending Intelligence: This was done several ways, and by several sorts of Messengers, one remarkable were their *ἡμεροδρομοί*, who were lightly arm'd with Darts, Hand-granadoes, or Bows and Arrows (a); one of these was *Phidippides* famous in the Story of *Miltiades* for his Vision of *Pan* (b).

But the Contrivance of all others the most celebrated for close Conveyance of Intelligence, was the *Lacedemonian στυτήλη*, which was a white Roll of Parchment, wrapp'd about a black Stick; it was about four Cubits in length (c), and so call'd from *στυς*, i.e. Skin: The Manner and Use of it was thus; when the Magistrates gave Commission to any General, or Admiral, they took round Pieces of Wood exactly equal to one another; one of these they kept, the other was deliver'd to the Commander, to whom when they had any Thing of Moment to communicate, they cut a long narrow Scrowl of Parchment, and rolling it about their own Staff, one Fold close upon another, they wrote their Business upon it; then, taking it off, dispatch'd it away to the Commander, who applying it to his own Staff, the Folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the Writing, and the Characters, which, before 'twas wrapp'd up, were confusedly disjoyn'd, and unintelligible, appear'd very plain (d).

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Invention, and different sorts of Ships.

MOST of those usefull Arts, and admirable Inventions, which are the very Support of Mankind, and supply them with all the Necessaries, and Conveniences of Life, have at first been the Productions of some lucky Chance, or from slight

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Cornelius Nepos Miltiade*. (c) *Pindari Scholiastes Olymp. Od. VI.* (d) *Plutarchus Lyfandro, Aristophanis Scholiastes in Avibus, A. Gellius, &c.*

and contemptible Beginnings have been by long Experience, curious Observations, and various Improvements matur'd, and brought to perfection: Instances of this kind are every where frequent, and obvious, but none can be produc'd more remarkable than in the Art of Navigation, which, tho' now arriv'd to a Pitch of Perfection beyond most other Arts by those successfull Additions it has receiv'd from almost every Age of the World, was in the Beginning so mean and imperfect, that the Pleasure, or Advantage of those, who first apply'd themselves to it, was very small and inconsiderable.

Those, who adventur'd to commit themselves to the liquid Element, made their first Essays in shallow Waters, and trusted not themselves too far from the Shore; but, being embolden'd by frequent Tryals, proceeded farther by degrees, 'till at length they took Courage, and launch'd forth into the main Ocean: To this purpose *Claudian* (a);

*Inventa secuit primus qui nave profundum,
Et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas,
Tranquillis primum trepidus se credidit undis,
Litora securo tramite summa legens;
Mox longos tentare sinus, & relinquere terras,
Et leni capit pandere vela Notis:
Ast ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit,
Cordaque languentem dedidicere metum,
Jam vagus irrupit pelago, cælumque secutus,
Ægeas hyemes, Ioniasque domat.*

Whoever first with Vessels cleav'd the Deep,
And did with uncouth Oars the Water sweep,
His first Attempt on gentle Streams he made,
And near the Shore affrighted always stay'd;
He launch'd out farther next, and left the Land,
And then erected Sails began to stand,
'Till by degrees, when Man undaunted grew,
Forgetting all those Fears before he knew,
He rush'd into the Main, and harmless bore,
Guided by Stars, the Storms that loudly roar
In the *Ægean*, and *Ionian* Seas.—

Mr. Dechair.

To whom the World is oblig'd for the Invention of Ships, is, like all Things of such Antiquity, uncertain; there are divers Persons, who seem to make equal Pretensions to this Honour; such are *Prometheus*, *Neptune*, *Janus*, *Atlas*, *Hercules*, *Jason*, *Danaus*, *Ery-*

(a) *Præfat. in Rapt. Proserpina.*

theus, &c. but by common Fame it is given to *Minerva*, the happy Mother of all Arts, and Sciences: Some, who, leaving these antiquated Fables of the Poets, pretend to something more of certainty in what they deliver, ascribe it to the Inhabitants of some of those Places, that lye upon the Sea-coasts, and are by Nature design'd, as it were, for harbouring Ships, such as the *Aeginensians*, *Phenicians* (a) &c. The reason of this Disagreement seems to have proceeded partly from the different Places, where Navigation was first practis'd, (for it was never peculiar to any one People, and from them communicated to the rest of the World, but found out in Countries far distant from one another) and in part from the various sorts of Ships, some of which, being first built by the Persons above-mention'd, have intitled them to the whole Invention.

The first Ships were built without Art, or Contrivance, and had neither Strength nor Durableness, Beauty nor Ornament; but consisted only of Planks laid together, and just so compacted as to keep out the Water (b): In some Places they were nothing else, but Hulks of Trees made hollow, which were call'd *πλοῖα μονόξυλα*, as consisting only of one Piece of Timber; of these we find mention in *Virgil* (c),

*Tunc alnos fluvii primum sensere cavatas,
Navita tum stellis numeros, & nomina fecit.*

Then hollow'd Alders first on Rivers swam,
Then to the Stars both Names, and Numbers came
Impos'd by Mariners.——

In later Ages also they were made use of at some Places, being the same with those call'd *σκάφη*, in the strict, and most proper Acceptation of that Word (d), from *σκάπτειν*, as made by hollowing, and, as it were, digging in a Tree. Nor was Wood alone apply'd to this Use, but any other Materials that float upon the Water without sinking, such as the *Aegyptian* Reed *papyrus*, or (to mention no more) Leather, of which the primitive Ships were frequently compos'd, and call'd *πλοῖα διφθερικά*, or *δερμάτινα*, these were sometimes begirt with Wickers, and frequently us'd in that manner upon the Rivers of *Aethiopia*, *Aegypt*, and *Sabean Arabia* even in later Times; but in the first of them we find no mention of any Thing but Leather, or Hides sew'd together: In a Ship of this sort *Dardanus* secur'd his Flight to the Country afterwards call'd *Troas*, when by a terrible Deluge he was forc'd to leave *Samothrace*, his former Place of Residence (e). *Charon's*

(a) *Plin.* l. v. c. XII. *Strabo* l. XVI. *Mela* l. i. c. XII. (b) *Maximus Tyr.* Dissert. XL. *Isidorus*. (c) *Georgic.* lib. I. v. 136. (d) *Polyanius* lib. V. (e) *Lycophronis Casandr.* ejusque Scholiastes v. 75.

infernal Boat was of the same Composition, according to *Virgil* (a),

Gemit sub pondere cymba
Sutulis, & multam accepit rimosa paludem.

Under the Weight the Boat of Leather groan'd,
And leaky grown, th' impetuous Water found
An easy Passage thro'.

When Ships were brought to a little more Perfection, and encreas'd in Bigness, the Sight of them struck the poor, ignorant People with Terroure and Amazement; for it was no small Surprise to behold great floating Castles of unusual Forms, full of living Men, and with Wings (as it were) expanded flying upon the Sea (b): What else could have given Occasion to the Fiction of *Perseus's* Flight to the *Gorgons*, who, as *Aristophanes* (c) expressly tells us, was carry'd in a Ship,

Περσεὺς πρὸς Ἀργὸς ναυστοχὸν τὸ Γοργόνος ἀδελφεὸν.

What other Original could there be for the famous Story of *Triptolemus*, who was feign'd to ride upon a wing'd Dragon, only because in a Time of Dearth at *Athens* he say'd to more fruitfull Countries to supply the Necessities of his People; or to the Fable of the wing'd Horse *Pegasus*, who, as several *Mythologists* (d) report, was nothing but a Ship of that Name with Sails, and for that reason feign'd to be the Offspring of *Neptune* the Emperour of the Sea (e): Nor was there any other Ground for the Stories of Gryffons, or of Ships transform'd into Birds, and Fishes, which we frequently meet with in the ancient Poets.

So acceptable to the first Ages of the World were Inventions of this Nature, that whoever made any Improvements in the Art of Navigation, built new Ships of Forms better fitted for Strength, or Swiftness than those before us'd, render'd the old more commodious by any additional Contrivance, or discover'd Countries untrac'd by former Travellers, were thought worthy of the greatest Honours, and (like other common Benefactors to Mankind) ascrib'd into the Number of the deify'd Heroes, they had their Inventions also consecrated, and fix'd in the Heavens: Hence we have the Signs of *Aries*, and *Taurus*, which were nothing, but two Ships, the former transported *Phryxus* from *Greece* to *Colchos*, the later *Europa* out of *Phenicia* into *Crete*; *Argo* likewise, *Pegasus*, and *Perseus's* Whale were new sorts of Ships, which, being had in great Admiration by the rude and ignorant Mortals of those

(a) *Æneid*. VI. 414. (b) *Apollonius*, ejusque *Scholias*tes. (c) *Scholias*tes. (d) *Theophrastus*. (e) *Palaphatus*, *Artemidorus*. (f) *Vossius* *Idol* lib III. cap. XLIX.

Times, were in Memory of their Inventors translated amongst the Stars, and metamorphos'd into Constellations by the Poets of those, or the succeeding Ages. Thus much concerning the Invention of Ships.

At their first Appearance in the World, all Ships, for whatever Use design'd, were of the same Form; but the various Ends of Navigation, some of which were better answer'd by one Form, some by another, soon gave occasion to fit out Ships, not in Bigness only, but in the manner of their Construction, and Equipment, differing from one another. Not to trouble you with a distinct Enumeration of every little Alteration, which would be endless, they were chiefly of three sorts, Ships of *Burden*, of *War*, and of *Passage*. Ships of *Passage* were distinguish'd by several Names taken usually from their Carriages; those that serv'd for the Transportation of Men, being call'd by the general Names of *πείρα*, and *ὀπλιτάγωροι*, or, when fill'd with arm'd Men, by the particular Titles of *ὀπλιταγωροι*, and *σπασιώπιδες*; those, in which Horses were transported, were nam'd *ἵππινοι*, *ἵππαγωροι*, and *hippazines*, to mention no more.

Ships of Burden were call'd *ὀλκίδες*, *φορτισοί*, and *πλοῖα*, to distinguish them from Men of War, which were properly term'd *νῆες*: They were usually of an orbicular Form, having large and capacious Bellies, to contain the greater Quantity of Victuals, Provisions, and other Necessaries, with which they were laden; whence they are sometimes call'd *σπογγύλαι*, as, on the contrary, Ships of War we find nam'd *μακραι* (a), being extended to a greater Length than the former, wherein they agree'd in part with the Transport-vessels, which were of a Form betwixt the Ships of War, and Burden, being exceeded by the later in Capaciousness, by the former in Length. There was likewise another Difference amongst these Ships, for Men of War, tho' not wholly destitute of Sails, were chiefly row'd with Oars, that they might be the more able to tack about upon any Advantage, and approach the Enemy on his weakest Side, whereas Vessels govern'd by Sails, being left to the Mercy of the Winds, could not be manag'd by so steady a Conduct; hence the Ships of War are usually stil'd *ὀπικωποι*, and *κωπήρεα*. Ships of Burden were commonly govern'd with Sails, and those of Transport often tow'd with Cords, not but that in both these all the three Ways of Government, viz. by Sail, Oar, and Cords, were upon occasion made use of.

Men of War are said to have been first rigg'd out by *Partholus*, or *Samyres*, as others by *Semiramis*, but according to some (b) by *Ægeon*: They were farther distinguish'd from other sorts of Ships by

(a) *Ulpianus* in *Demosth. Orat. adv. Leptinem*. (b) *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. VII. cap. ult.*

various Engines, and Accessions of Building, some to defend their own Souldiers, others to annoy Enemies, an Account of which shall be inserted in the following Chapters; and from one another in later Ages by several Orders, or Banks of Oars, which were not, as some vainly imagine, plac'd upon the same Level in different Parts of the Ship; nor yet, according to others, directly, and perpendicularly above one another's Heads; but their Seats being fix'd one at the Back of another ascended gradually in the manner of Stairs. The most usual Number of these Banks was three, four, and five; whence there is so frequent mention of τριήρης, τετρήρης, and πντήρης, i. e. trireme, quadrireme, and quinquireme Gallies, which exceeded one another by a Bank of Oars, and consequently were built more high, and row'd with greater Strength. In the primitive Times, the long Ships had only one Bank of Oars, whence they are sometimes term'd μονήρης, and κέλπτες from the Name of a single Horse, and therefore, when we find them call'd πντηκόντορες, and upwards as far as ἑκατόντορες, we are not to suppose they were row'd with fifty, or an hundred Banks, but only with so many Oars: such as these was the Ship *Argo*, which we find was row'd with fifty Oars, being the first of the long Ships, and invented by *Jason*, whereas 'till that Time all sorts of Vessels had been of a Form more enclining to Oval; Others (a) carry the Invention of long Ships something higher, referring it to *Danaus*, who, they tell us, sail'd from *Egypt* into *Greece* in a Ship of fifty Oars; and however *Jason* should be allow'd to have introduc'd them into *Greece*, yet he cannot be thought their first Contriver, but rather imitated the *Egyptian*, or *African* Model, the later of which was some Time before compos'd by *Atlas*, and much us'd in those Parts. The first, that us'd a double Bank of Oars, were the *Erythreans* (b); which was farther enlarg'd by *Aminocles* of *Corinth* with the Accession of a third, as *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* report; but *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (c) will have this Invention to belong to the *Sidonians*: To these *Aristotle* a *Carthaginian* added a fourth, *Nesitthon* of *Salamis* (according to *Pliny*) or *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* (according to *Diodorus*) a fifth, *Xenagoras* the *Syracusan* a sixth; *Nesigiton* encreas'd the Number to ten, *Alexander* the Great to twelve, *Ptolemy Soter* to fifteen, *Philip* Father to *Perseus* had a Ship of sixteen Banks (d), then (it being easy to make Additions, the Method of erecting one Bank above another once found out) *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus* built a Ship of thirty Banks, and *Ptolemy Philopator*, out of a vain-glorious Humour of outdoing all the World besides, farther en-

(a) *Apollodorus* Biblioth. lib. II. (b) *Plinius*. (c) *Stromat.* lib. I. (d) *Polybius* in Fragment. & *Livius*.

larg'd the Number to forty (a), which (all other Parts bearing a just Proportion) rais'd the Ship to that prodigious Bigness, that it appear'd at a Distance like a floating Mountain, or Island, and upon a near View seem'd like an huge Castle upon the Floods; it contain'd four-thousand Rowers, four hundred Mariners employ'd in other Services, and almost three thousand Souldiers. But this, and such like Fabricks serv'd only for Shew, and Ostentation, being by their great Bulk render'd unwieldly, and unfit for Use; *Athenæus* tells us the common Names, they were known by, were *Cyclades*, or *Ætnæ*, i. e. Islands, or Mountains, to which they seem'd almost equal in Bigness, consisting, as some report, of as many Materials, as would have been sufficient for the Construction of at least fifty *Triremes*.

Beside those already mention'd, there were other Ships with half Banks of Oars; such as *ἡμιολία*, or *ἡμιολος*, which seems to have been betwixt an *Vnireme*, and *Bireme*, consisting of a Bank, and an half: likewise *τεμνημιολία*, betwixt a *Bireme*, and *Trireme*, having two Banks and an half: These, tho' perhaps built in other Respects after the Model of the long Ships, or Men of War, are seldom comprehended under that Name, and sometimes found in Opposition to them. Several other Ships are mention'd by Authors, which differ'd from those already enumerated, being fitted for particular Uses, or certain Seas, employ'd upon urgent Necessities in naval Fights, but more commonly, as *ὑποστηκίδες*, *Tenders*, and victualling Ships, to supply the main Fleet with Provisions, and sometimes built for Expedition, to carry Expresses, and observe the Enemy's Motions, without Danger of being seiz'd by the heavier, and arm'd Vessels: These were distinguish'd from the former by the manner of their Construction, and Equipment, being in part like the Men of War, partly resembling the Ships of Burden, and in some Things differing from both, as the various Exigences they serv'd in, seem'd to require.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Ships.

HAVING treated of the different sorts of Ships us'd amongst the ancient *Grecians*, I shall in the next Place endeavour to describe the principal Parts, whereof they consisted, the Ignorance of which has occasion'd a great many Mistakes, and

(a) *Plutarchus Demetrius, Athenæus lib. V.*

much Confusion in those that have convers'd with Authors of Antiquity. Herein I shall chiefly follow the Account of *Scheffer*, who hath so copiously treated on this Subject, and with such Industry, and Learning collected whatever is necessary to it's Illustration, that very little Room is left for farther Enlargement.

Now the principal Parts, of which Ships consisted, were three, viz, the *Belly*, the *Prow*, and the *Stern*: These were again compos'd of other smaller Parts, which shall briefly be describ'd in their Order.

1. In the *Belly*, or middle Part, of the Ship there was *πρόπις*, *carina*, or the *Keel*, which was compos'd of Wood, and therefore from it's Strength and *Firmness* call'd *σειρή*: It was plac'd at the Bottom of the Ship, being design'd to cut, and glide thro' the Waves (a), and therefore was not broad, but narrow, and sharp; whence it may be perceiv'd that not all Ships, but only the *μακραί*, whose Bellies were strait, and of a small Circumference, were provided with Keels, the rest having usually flat Bottoms (b). Round the Keel were plac'd Pieces of Wood to save it from receiving Damage, when the Ship was first launch'd into the Water, or bulg'd against Rocks; these were call'd *χελούσματα*, in *Latin* *cunei* according to *Ovid* (c),

*Jamque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine ceræ
Rima pater.*———

The Wedges break, and, loosing all it's Wax,
A Hole lets in the Water.———

Next to the Keel was *φάλλης* (d), within which was contain'd the *αντλία*, or Pump, thro' which Water was convey'd out of the Ship (e).

After this was *δευτέρα πρόπις*, or second Keel, being plac'd beneath the Pump, and call'd *λέπτερον*, *χαλκίην*, *κλειτοπόδιον* (f): By some it is falsly suppos'd to be the same with *φάλλης*.

Above the Pump was an hollow Place, call'd by *Herodotus* *κοίλη τῆ νῆος*, by *Pollux* *κύτος*, and *γάστρος*, (because large, and capacious, after the Form of a Vessel, or Belly) by the *Latins* *testudo*. This was surrounded with Ribs, which were Pieces of Wood rising from the Keel upwards, and call'd by *Hesychius* *νομείς*, by others *ἐσκοίλα* (the Belly of the Ship being contain'd within them) in *Latin* *costæ*: Upon these were plac'd certain Planks, which *Aristophanes* calls *εντερωνείας*, or *εντερωνίδας*.

(a) *Homeri Scholiast.* *Odyss.* μ'. (b) *Isidor.* lib. XIX. cap. I. (c) *Metam.* XI. v. 516. (d) *Tollux.* (e) *Aristoph.* *Schol. Equit.* (f) *Pollux.*

2

Quinquiremis Prisca Facies Interior à Latere Sinistro.

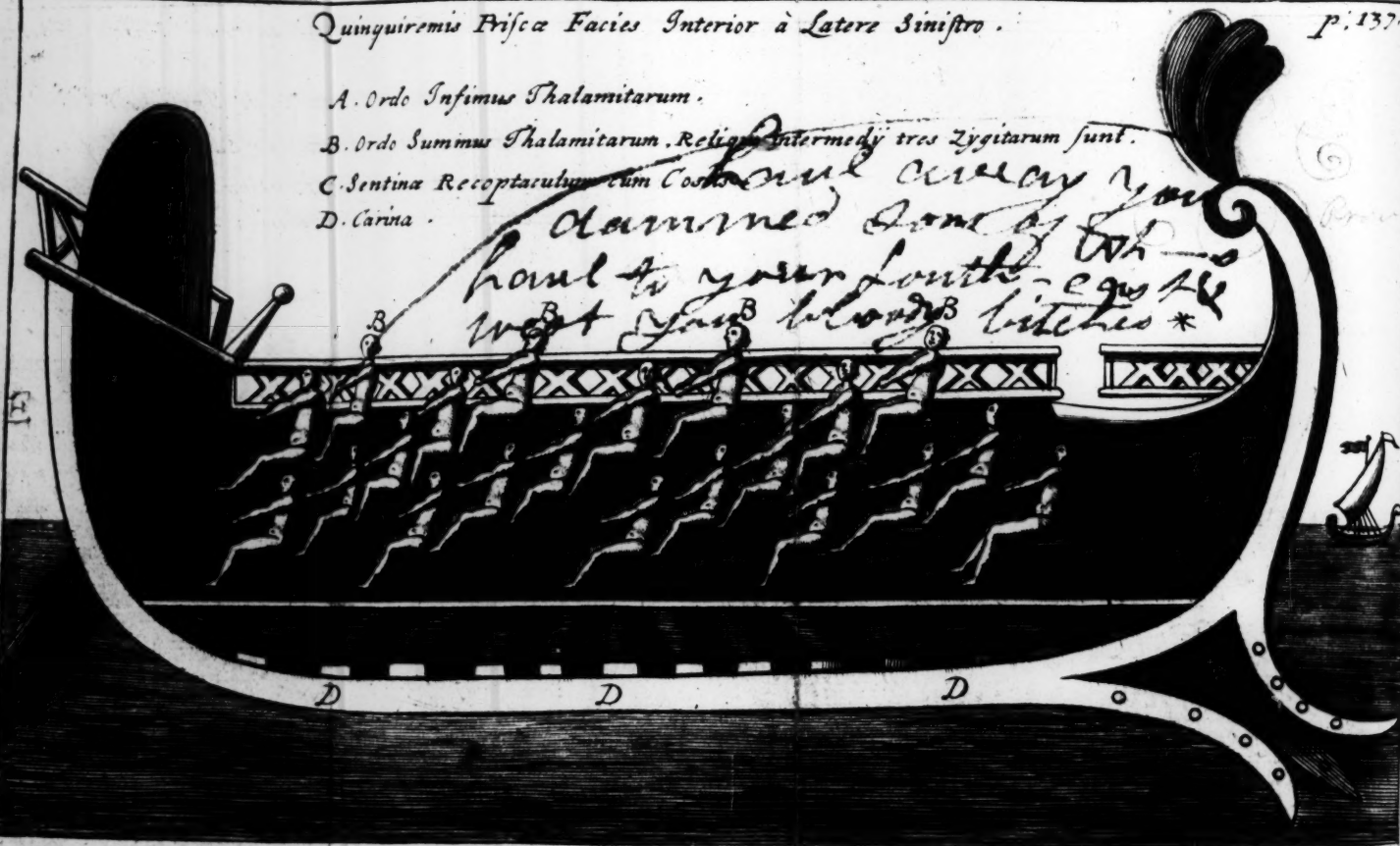
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A. Ordo Infimus Thalamitarum.

B. Ordo Summus Thalamitarum. Reliqui Intermedii tres Zygitarum sunt.

C. Sentina Recaptaculum cum Corno.

D. Carina.



damned son of a
 haul to your south - eqw 14
 west your blood bitches *

* Despicable blackguard! would thou wert clean
 enough to spit upon!

Hence proceed we to the πλευραι, *latera*, or Sides of the Ship, which encompass'd all the former Parts on both Hands: These were compos'd of large Rafters extended from Prow to Stern, and call'd ὑποζώματα (a), ζωήρες (b), and ζωμάματα (c), because by them the whole Fabrick was *begirt*, or furrounded.

In both these Sides the Rowers had their Places, call'd τοῖχοι, and ἐδωλια, in *Latin fori*, and *transstra*, plac'd above one another: The lowest was call'd θάλαμος, and those that labour'd therein θαλάμοι; The Middle ζυγὰ, and the Men ζύγιοι; the uppermost θράνοι, whence the Rowers were term'd θρανίται (d). In these were Spaces, thro' which the Rowers put their Oars; these were sometimes one continu'd Vacuity from one End to the other call'd τράρηξ, but more usually distinct Holes, each of which was design'd for a single Oar; these were stil'd ὀφθαλμοί, as also ὀφθαλμοί, because not unlike the *Eyes* of living Creatures: All of them were by a more general Name term'd ἔγκωπα, from *containing* the Oars (e); but ἔγκωπιν seems to have been another Thing, signifying the Spaces between the Banks of Oars on each Side, where the Passengers seem to have been plac'd: On the Top of all these was a Passage, or Place to walk in, call'd παροδός, and παράθρανός, as joyning to the θράνοι, or uppermost Bank of Oars.

2. Πρόρα, the Prow, or Fore-deck, whence it's sometimes call'd μέτωπον, the Fore-head, and commonly distinguish'd by other metaphorical Titles taken from human Faces. In some Ships there is mention of two Prows, as likewise of two Sterns; thus was *Danaus's* Ship adorn'd by *Minerva*, when he fled from *Aegypt*. It was customary to beautify the Prow with Gold, and various sorts of Paint, and Colours: In the primitive Times red was most in Use, whence *Homer's* Ships were commonly dignify'd with the Titles of ῥυττοπέρητοι, and ῥομφαιοπέρητοι, or red-fac'd: The blew likewise, or Sky-colour was frequently made use of, as bearing a near Resemblance to the Colour of the Sea, whence we find Ships call'd by *Homer* κυανόπλοοι, by *Aristophanes* κυανέμβολοι. Several other Colours were also made use of; nor were they barely varnish'd over with them, for they had a curious Art of Annealing them by Wax melted in the Fire, so as neither the Sun, Winds, or Water were able to deface them; This Art was call'd, from the Wax us'd therein,

(a) Plato De Repub. l. X. (b) Heliodorus *Aethiopica*. (c) Aristophanes *Equitibus*. (d) Pollux. (e) Athenaeus lib. V.

κηρογραφία, from the Fire ἑλγαστική, it is describ'd by *Virgilius* (a), and mention'd in *Ovid* (b),

————— *Picta coloribus uestis*
Ceruleam matrem concava puppis habet.

The painted Ship with melted Wax anneal'd
Had *Tethys* for it's Deity. —————

In these Colours the various Forms of Gods, Animals, Plants, &c. were usually describ'd, which were often added as Ornaments to other Parts also of the Ships, as plainly appears from the ancient Monuments presented to the World by *Baysius*.

The Sides of the Prow were term'd πῖρα, or Wings, and πα-εία according to *Scheffer*, but I rather read παρειά, for since the Prow is commonly compar'd to an human Face, it will naturally follow that it's Sides may be call'd *Cheeks*. The Top of these, as likewise of the Stern, was call'd παρεξερσία (c), because void of *Rowers*.

E 3. Πρύμνη, the Hind-deck, or Stern, sometimes call'd ἄρα, the Tail, because the hindmost Part of the Ship: It was of a Figure more enclining to round than the Prow, the Extremity of which was sharp, that it might cut the Waters; it was also built higher than the Prow, and was the Place, where the Pilot sat to steer: The Bow of it was call'd ὀπισθίων, the Planks, of which that was compos'd, τὰ πειτόνεα. There was another Place something below the Top call'd ἀπάνδιον, the interior Part of which was term'd ἐνδέρμιον.

Some other Things there are in the Prow, and Stern, that deserve our Notice; as those Ornaments, wherewith the Extremities of the Ship were beautify'd, commonly call'd in general ἀκρόνια (d), or νεῶν κοράνιδες (e), in *Latin* *corymbi*, which Name is taken from the *Greek* κόρυμβας us'd in *Homer*,

————— νεῶν στακόλειν ἄκρα κόρυμβας.

Tho' this Word in *Greek* is not, as in the *Latin*, apply'd to the Ornaments of both Ends, but only of the Prow (f): These are likewise call'd ἀκροσόλια, because plac'd at the Extremity of the σόλος, which was a long Plank at the Head of the Prow, and therefore sometimes term'd πεικεφαλαία (g); the Form of them some-

(a) Lib. VII. cap. IX. (b) *Fastorum* lib. IV. (c) *Thucydidis* Scholia-
st. (d) *Suidas*. (e) *Homerus*. (f) *Etymologici* Auctor. (g) *Tellux*.

times resembled Helmets, sometimes living Creatures, but most frequently was winded into a round Compass, whence they are so commonly nam'd *corymbæ*, and *coronæ*.

To the ἀκροστόλια in the Prow answer'd the ἀράστα in the Stern, which were often of an orbicular Figure, or fashion'd like Wings, to which a little Shield, call'd ἀσπίδιον, or ἀσπίδιον, was frequently affix'd: Sometimes a Piece of Wood was erected, whereon Ribbands of divers Colours were hung, and serv'd instead of a Flag (a) to distinguish the Ship, and of a Weather-cock to signify the Quarters of the Wind.

Χλωίος was so call'd from χλω, a Goose, whose Figure it resembled, because Geese were look'd on as fortunate Omens to Mariners, for that they swim on the Top of the Waters, and sink not. This Ornament, according to some, was fix'd at the Bottom of the Prow, where it was joyn'd to the foremost Part of the Keel; and was the Part, to which Anchors were fasten'd, when cast into the Sea. But others carry it to the other End of the Ship, and fix it upon the Extremity of the Stern (b).

Παράσημον was the Flag, whereby Ships were distinguish'd from one another: It was plac'd in the Prow, just below the σόλος, being sometimes carv'd, and frequently painted, whence it is in Latin term'd *pictura*, representing the Form of a Mountain, a Tree, a Flower, or any other Things, wherein it was distinguish'd from what was call'd *melæ*, or the Safeguard, of the Ship, which always represented some of the Gods, to whose Care and Protection the Ship was recommended; for which reason it was held sacred, and had the Privilege of being a Refuge, and Sanctuary to such as fled to it; Prayers also, and Sacrifices were offer'd, and Oaths confirm'd before it, as the Mansion of the Tutelar, and presiding Deity of the Ship: Now and then we find it taken for the παράσημον (c), and perhaps some few Times the Images of Gods might be represented upon the Flags: By some it is plac'd also in the Prow (d), but by most Authors of Credit assign'd to the Stern: Thus Ovid, (to omit more Instances) in his Epistle of Paris,

Accipit & pictos puppis adunca Deos.

The Stern with painted Deities richly shines.

Farther, the *melæ*, and παράσημον are frequently distinguish'd in express Words, that being always signify'd by the Image of a God;

(a) Pollux, Eustathius. (b) Etymologici Auctor. (c) LaTantius lib I cap II. Servius Augid. V. Glossæ veteres. (d) Procopius in Esaiâ cap. XII. (grillus in catena ad eundem prophetam.

this usually of some Creature, or feign'd Representation: Hence the same Author (a),

*Est mihi, siquæ, precor, flævæ tutela Minervæ,
Navis & à picta casside nomen habet.*

Minerva is the Goddess I adore,
And may she grant the Blessings I implore;
The Ship its Name a painted Helmet gives.

Where the Tutelar Deity was *Minerva*, the *παιδαριον* an Helmet. In like manner, the Ship, wherein *Europa* was convey'd from *Phœnicia* into *Crete*, had a Bull for it's Flag, and *Jupiter* for it's Tutelar Deity; which gave Occasion to the Fable of her being ravish'd by that God in the Shape of a Bull. It was customary for the Ancients to commit their Ships to the Protection of those Deities, whom they thought most concern'd for their Safety, or to whom they bore any sort of Relation, or Affection: Thus we learn from *Æuripides* (b), that *Theseus's* whole Fleet, consisting of sixty Sail, was under the Care of *Minerva* the Protectress of *Athens*; *Achilles's* Navy was committed to the *Nereids*, or Sea-nymphs, because of the Relation he had to them on the Account of his Mother *Thetis*, who was one of their Number; and (to mention no more) the *Bœotian* Ships had for their Tutelar God *Cadmus* represented with a Dragon in his Hand, because he was the Founder of *Thebes*, the principal City in *Bœotia*. Nor were whole Fleets only, but single Ships recommended to certain Deities, which the Ancients usually chose out of the Number of those, who were reputed the Protectors of their Country, or Family, or presided over the Business they were going about; thus Merchants committed themselves, and their Ships to the Care of *Mercury*, Soldiers of *Mars*, and Lovers of *Venus* and *Cupid*; so *Paris* tells his Mistress in *Orvid*,

*Qua tamen ipse vehor, comitata Cupidine parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat Dea picta sui.*

Venus, who has betroth'd us, painted stands
With little *Cupid* on my Ship.——

On the Prow of the Ship, about the *σολος*, was plac'd a round Piece of Wood call'd *πρυξ*, and sometimes *ὀφθαλμός*, the Eye of the Ship, because fix'd in it's Fore-deck (c); on this was inscrib'd the Name of the Ship, which was usually taken from the Flag,

(a) De Trifibus. (b) *Iphigenia*. (c) *Pollux*, *Eustathius*, *Apollonii Scholasticæ Argon.* lib. L v. 1089.

as appears in the fore-mention'd Passage of *Ovid*, where he tells us his Ship receiv'd it's Name from the Helmet painted upon it; hence comes the frequent mention of Ships call'd *Pegasi*, *Scyllæ*, *Bulls*, *Rams*, *Tigers*, &c. which the Poets took Liberty to represent as living Creatures, that transported their Riders from one Country to another; nor was there (according to some) any other Ground for those known Fictions of *Pegasus*, the wing'd Horse of *Bellerophon*, or the Ram, that is reported to have carry'd *Phryxus* to *Colchos*, with several others, that occur every where in the Poets.

The whole Fabrick being completed, it was fortify'd with Pitch to secure the Wood from the Waters, whence it comes that *Homer's* Ships are every where mention'd with the Epithet of μέλαινα, or Black. The first that made use of Pitch, were the Inhabitants of *Phœacia* (a), call'd afterwards *Corfica*. Sometimes Wax was employ'd in the same Use, whence *Ovid* (b),

Cernula ceratas accipit unda rates.

The azure Sea receives the waxy Ships.

Now and then it was apply'd with a Mixture of Rosin, or other Materials fit for the same Purpose; whence the Colour of Ships was not always the same, and the Epithets ascrib'd to them in the Poets are various.

After all, the Ship being bedeck'd with Garlands, and Flowers, the Mariners also adorn'd with Crowns, she was launch'd into the Sea with loud Acclamations, and other Expressions of Mirth, and Joy (c); and, being purify'd by a Priest with a lighted Torch, an Egg, and Brimstone (d), or after some other manner, was consecrated to the God, whose Image she bore.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Tackling, and Instruments requir'd in Navigation.

THE Instruments us'd in Navigation were of divers sorts, being either necessary to all sorts of Navigation, or only some Form of it, as that by Sails, by Oars, &c. The chief of the former sort were as follow:

Πηδύλιον, *gubernaculum*, the Rudder, plac'd in the hindmost

(a) *Suidas* v. Ναυτίκῃ. (b) *Epist. Oenon.* v. 42. (c) *Athenaus* lib. V. (d) *Apuleius* *Asia.* lib. XI.

Deck, whereby the Pilot directed the Course of the Ship. The smaller sort of Ships had only one Rudder, but those of greater Bulk, as often as Occasion requir'd, had more, insomuch that sometimes we read of four Rudders in one Vessel: The Places of these are uncertain, being perhaps not always the same; but it seems probable, that, when there were only two Rudders, one was fix'd to the Fore-deck, the other to the hindmost; whence we read of *ἑνὶ ἀντιπροσώμῳ*, or Ships with two Sterns; when there were four Rudders, one seems to have been fix'd to each Side of the Vessel.

Ἀγκυρα, an Anchor, the first Invention of which some ascribe to the *Tyrrhenians* (a); others to *Midas*, the Son of *Gordius*, whose Anchor, *Pausanias* tells us, was preserv'd in one of *Jupiter's* Temples 'till his Days: Since there were divers sorts of Anchors, it is not improbable that both these may justly lay claim to Part of the Invention. The most ancient Anchors are said to have been of Stone (b), and sometimes of Wood, to which a great Quantity of Lead was usually fix'd: In some Places Baskets full of Stones (c), and Sacks fill'd with Sand were employ'd to the same Use: All these were let down by Cords into the Sea, and by their Weight stay'd the Course of the Ship. Afterwards Anchors were compos'd of Iron, and furnish'd with Teeth, which, being fasten'd to the Bottom of the Sea, preserv'd the Vessel immoveable; whence *ἰδρύτης*, and *dentes* are frequently taken for Anchors in the *Greek*, and *Latin* Poets. At first there was only one Tooth, whence Anchors were call'd *ἑτερόδοντοι* (d); but in a short Time a second was added by *Eupalamus* (e), or *Anacharsis* the *Scythian* Philosopher (f): The *Scholiast* upon *Apollonius* (g) confidently affirms, that this sort of Anchors was us'd by the *Argonauts*, yet herein he seems to deserve no great Credit, for that he runs contrary to the Testimonies of other Writers, and his own Author *Apollonius* makes mention of none but those of Stone. The Anchors with two Teeth were call'd *ἀντιπρόσωτοι*, or *ἀντιπρόσωτοι*, and from ancient Monuments appear to have been much what the same with those us'd in our Days, only the transverse Piece of Wood upon their Handles is wanting in all of them. Every Ship had several Anchors, one of which, surpassing all the rest in Bigness, and Strength, was peculiarly term'd *ἱερὰ*, in *Latin* *sacra*, and was never us'd, but in extreme Danger; whence *sacram anchoram solvere* is proverbially apply'd to such as are forc'd to their last Refuge.

(a) *Plin. lib. VIII. cap. ult.* (b) *Apollonius Argonaut. Arrianus in Periplo Ponti Euxini.* (c) *Josephus, & Suidas v. Ζεύμα.* (d) *Pollux.* (e) *Plin. lib. VII. cap. ult.* (f) *Strabo lib. X. ex Ephoro.* (g) *Argon. I. v. 1271.*

Ερμα, Σεμέλιος, ἔεισμα, *saburra*, Ballast, wherewith Ships were pois'd, whence it is call'd ἀσφάλισμα πλοῖς: It was usually of Sand, but sometimes of any other ponderous Matter: *Diomedes*, in his Voyage from *Troy*, is said to have employ'd the Stones of that City's Walls to this Use (a). It is sometimes call'd κεφάλος, and κέφαλον (b).

Βόλις, call'd by *Herodotus* καταπειρηθῆν (c), by *Lucilius* catapirates (d), was an Instrument, wherewith they sounded the Depth of the Sea, and discover'd whether the Bottom was firm and commodious for anchoring, or dangerous by reason of Quick-sands, or other Obstructions. It was commonly of Lead, or Brass, or other ponderous Metals, and let down by a Chain into the Deep (e).

Κοντι, call'd by *Sophocles* πλῆκτρα (f), in *Latin* conti, long Poles, us'd to sound the Depth of shallower Waters, to thrust the Ship from Rocks and Shelves, and force her forwards in Fords and Shallows, where the Waters had not Strength enough to carry her.

Αποβάθραι, ἐπὶβάθραι, or κλίμακες were little Bridges, or Stairs joyning the Land to Ships, or one Ship to another.

Αυτλίον, αὐτλον, in *Latin* haustrum, tolleno, or tollena, &c. a Swipe, or Engine to draw up Water.

To some of the above-mention'd Instruments certain Ropes were requir'd, and distinguish'd according to their several Uses; as

Πείσματα, ancoralia, or ancorarii, the Cables, wherewith Anchors were cast into the Sea, call'd sometimes κάμιλοι (g), or κάμηλα (h): whence in the Place of Saint *Matthew*, where *Christ*, speaking of the Difficulty of a rich Man's entring into Heaven, tells his Disciples, it is harder than for a Camel to pass thro' the Eye of a Needle, *Theophylact*, and some others interpret the Word κάμηλος, not of the Animal call'd a Camel, but a Cable (i).

Ρύματα, ὀλκοί, or πῶνραι, parolcones, remulci, Ropes, by which Ships were tow'd.

Απέγεια, ἐπήγεια, πείσματα, περισμήσια, retinacula, Cords, wherewith Ships were ty'd to the Shore. In most Harbours Stones were erected for this purpose, being bor'd thro' like Rings, and thence call'd δακτύλιοι, to these the Cords, cast out of the Stern, were bound: This Custom was always observ'd, when Ships came into Port; and therefore, when they put to Sea, it is usually said they did solvere funes, loose their Cords; Instances of this are eve-

(a) *Lycophroni Casandr.* v. 618. (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Eusepe.* (d) *Lib. XIX. cap. IV.* (e) *Glossa in Act. Apost. cap. XXVII.* (f) *Tollux.* (g) *Aristophani Scholiastes.* (h) *Thavorinus.* (i) *Matthai Evangel. cap. XIX.*

ry where frequent, but I shall only give you one out of Ovid (a), who speaks thus of *Aeneas's* Followers,

*Aeneadae gaudent, caesoque in litore tauro,
Torta coronatae solvunt retinacula navis.*

A Bull the joyfull *Trojans* sacrific'd
Upon the Shore, then loos'd the Rope that ty'd
The Ship all crown'd with Garlands.——

The End of doing this was, that the Ships might be secur'd from the Violence of the Winds, and Waves; for which reason, in those commodious Harbours, that lay not expos'd to them, we find that Ships remain'd loose, and untty'd; whence *Homer* (b),

Εν δὲ λιμένι εὐορμος, ἵν' ἔχρ' ἀπὸ πείσματός ὄσιν.

So still the Port, there was no need of Ropes.

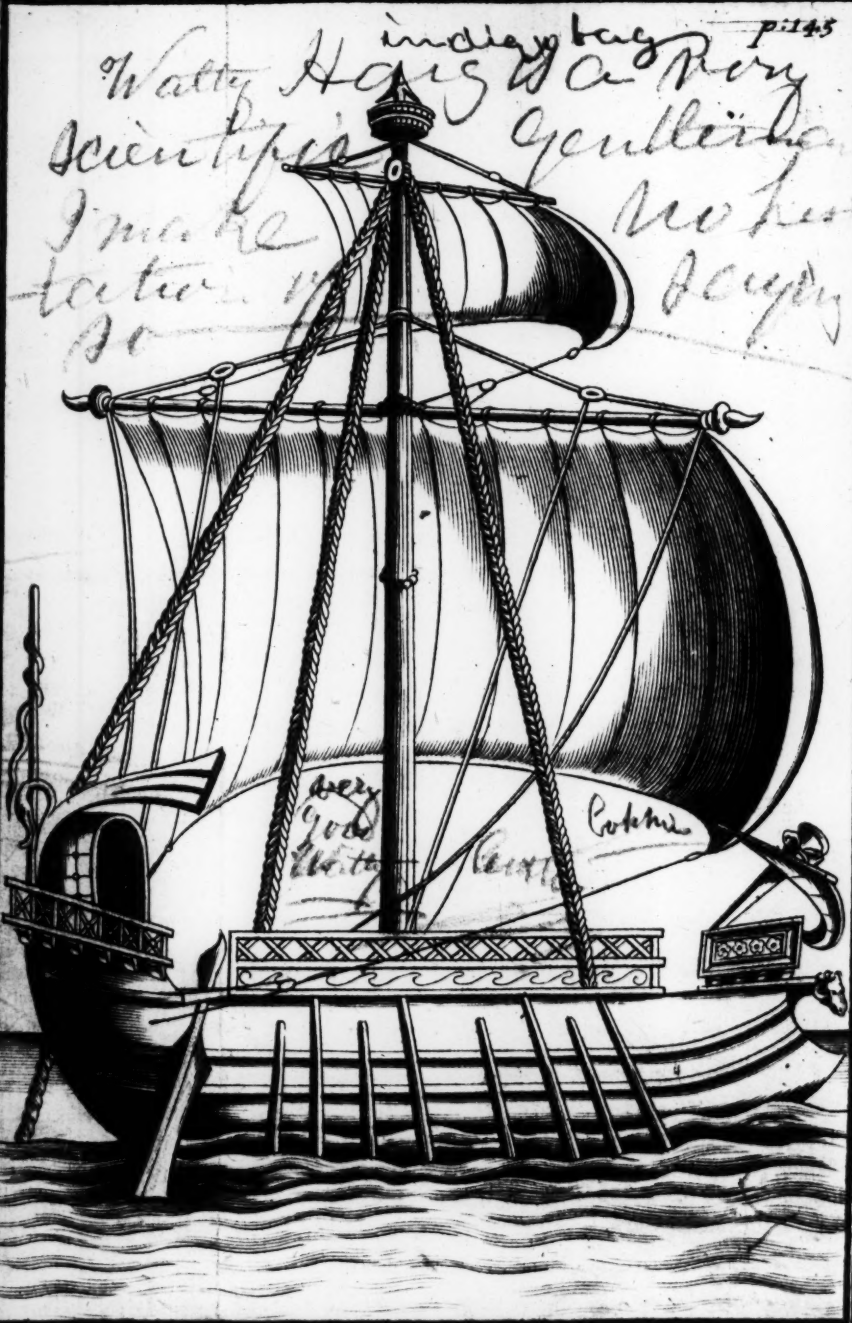
I proceed to the Instruments, which were only necessary to some sort of Navigation; where I shall first treat of those requir'd in Rowing, which were as follow:

Κῶπαι, *remi*, Oars, so call'd from one *Copas*, by whom 'tis said they were first invented. *Πλάτη*, in *Latin* *palmula*, or *tonsa*, was the Blade, or broad Part of the Oar, which was usually cover'd with Brass, that it might with greater Strength, and Force repell the Waves, and endure the longer. There were several Banks of Oars plac'd gradually above one another; the Oars of the lowest Bank were shorter than the rest, and call'd *θαλάμμαι*, or *θαλαμίδαι*: Those of the middle Banks were term'd *ζύμαι*: Those of the uppermost *θρανιπικαί*, and *θρανίπιδες*, and were the longest, being at the greatest Distance from the Water; wherefore, that the Rowers might be the better able to wield, and manage them, it was customary to put Lead upon their Handles (c), that the Bottom might not out-poise the Top.

Σκαμοὶ were round Pieces of Wood, whereon the Rowers hung their Oars, when they rested from their Labours: Hence *ναὺς τρισκαμμος*, i. e. a Ship with three Rows of *Scalmi*, or a Trireme.

Τρόποι, *τροπῶν τῆρες*, *strophæ*, or *struppi*, were leathern Thongs (d), wherewith the Oars were hung upon the *scalmi*; those also, with which the Rudder was bound. Leather, and Skins of Beasts were apply'd also to several other Uses; as to cover the *scalmi*, and the

(a) *Metam.* lib. XV. v. 695. (b) *Odys.* l. v. 136: Vide Annotationes nostras in *Lycophronis* *Caesandr.* v. 20. (c) *Athenæus* lib. V. (d) *Etymologæi* *Auctor.* *Homeri* *Scholiast.* *Odys.* 8.



Wally Hargrave
Scientific Gentleman
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indian bay
Wally Hargrave
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very good
Wally Hargrave
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Holes, thro' which the Oars were put forth to preserve them from being worn (a). There were Skins under the Rowers, call'd ὑπερέσια, and sometimes ὑπαγκώνια, or ὑποπύγια τ' ἐρετῆς, from saving the Elbows, or Breeches of the Rowers.

Ἐδῶλια, σέλματα, ζυγά, &c. in Latin *translra*, and *juga*, were the Seats of the Rowers.

The Instruments us'd in Sailing were as follow:

Ἰσία, φώστανες, ἄρμυρα, *vela*, Sails, which are by some thought to have been first invented by *Dædalus*, and to have given Original to the Fable of his using Wings: Others refer this Invention to *Icarus*, making *Dædalus* the Contriver of Masts and Sail-yards (b): At first, there was only one Sail in a Ship, but afterwards a greater Number was found convenient, the Names of which were these:

Ἀρτίμων, by some taken for *supparum*, or the Top-sail, which hung on the Top of the Mast.

Ἀχάπια, the great Sails (c).

Δόλων, the Trinket, or small Sail in the Fore-deck (d): Others make ἀχάπιον, and δόλων the same.

Ἐν'δρομος, the Misen-sail, which was larger than the former, and hung in the Hind-deck (e).

Sails were commonly of Linen, sometimes of any other Materials fit for receiving, and repelling the Winds: in *Dio* (f) we have mention of leathern Sails; it was likewise usual for want of other Sails to hang up their Garments; whence came the Fable of *Hercules*, who is feign'd to have sail'd with the Back of a *Lion*, because he us'd no other Sail, but his Garment, which was a *Lion's Skin* (g).

Κεράϊαι, κέρατα, *antenne*, the Sail-yards, Pieces of Wood fix'd upon the Mast, to which the Sails were ty'd (h): The Name signifies an *Horn*, whence it's Extremities are call'd ἀκροκέρατα, it's Arms inclining to an orbicular Figure are term'd ἀγκύλαι. The *Latin Poet* hath us'd *cornua* in the same Sence (i).

*Veloque superba capaci
Cum rapidum hauriret Boream, & cornibus amplexu
Colligeret flatus.*

Other Parts it had close to the Mast call'd ἀμβολα, and σπύρα, being those, by which it was mov'd.

Ἰσός, *malus*, the Mast. Every Ship had several Masts, but we are

(a) *Suidas* v. Διπδία. (b) *Plin.* lib. VII. cap. LVI. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) *Suidas* v. Δόλων. *Isidorus*. (e) *Hesychius*, *Isidorus*. (f) *Lib. XXXIX.* (g) *Servius* *En.* VIII. (h) *Homeri Scholiastes* *Iliad.* c'. (i) *Silius Italicus* lib. 11.

told by *Aristotle*, that at first there was only one Mast, which being fix'd in the Middle of the Ship, the Hole, into which the Foot of it was inserted, was nam'd *μεσόδμη* (a), in *Latin modius*. When they landed, the Mast was taken down, as appears every where in *Homer*, and plac'd on a Thing call'd *ἰσοδμη*, which, according to *Suidas*, was a Case, wherein the Mast was reposit'd, but *Ευσταθίους* will have it to be nothing, but a Piece of Wood, against which it was rest'd. The Parts of the Mast were these: *Πτέρνα*, or the Foot. *Λινός*, or, according to *Athenæus*, *λινός*, or *πρόμαχον*, to which the Sail was fix'd. *Καρχῆσιον*, the Pulley, by which the Ropes were turn'd round. *Θωράκιον*, built in the manner of a Turret, for Souldiers to stand upon, and cast Darts: Above this was a Piece of Wood call'd *ἑκρίον*, the Extremity of which was term'd *ἡλακῆτη*, on which hung a Ribband call'd, from it's continual Motion, *ἐπιστήριον*, turning round with the Wind.

The Names of the Ropes requir'd to the Use of the above-mention'd Parts, were these that follow, as enumerated by *Scheffer*:

Ἐπίτρονοι were the Ropes call'd in *Latin anquine*, wherewith the Sail-yards were bound to the main Mast (b); Others will have them to be the same with the *Latin rudenes*, which were those that govern'd the Sail-yards, so as one Part of the Sails might be hois'd, the other lower'd (c), according to the Pleasure of the Pilot. Others will have the Cord, wherewith the Sail-yards were ty'd to the Mast, to be term'd *χάλων*, *ceruchus*, *anchonis*, and *rudens*; that whereby they were contracted, or dilated *ὑπέρτα* (d), in *Latin epifera* (e).

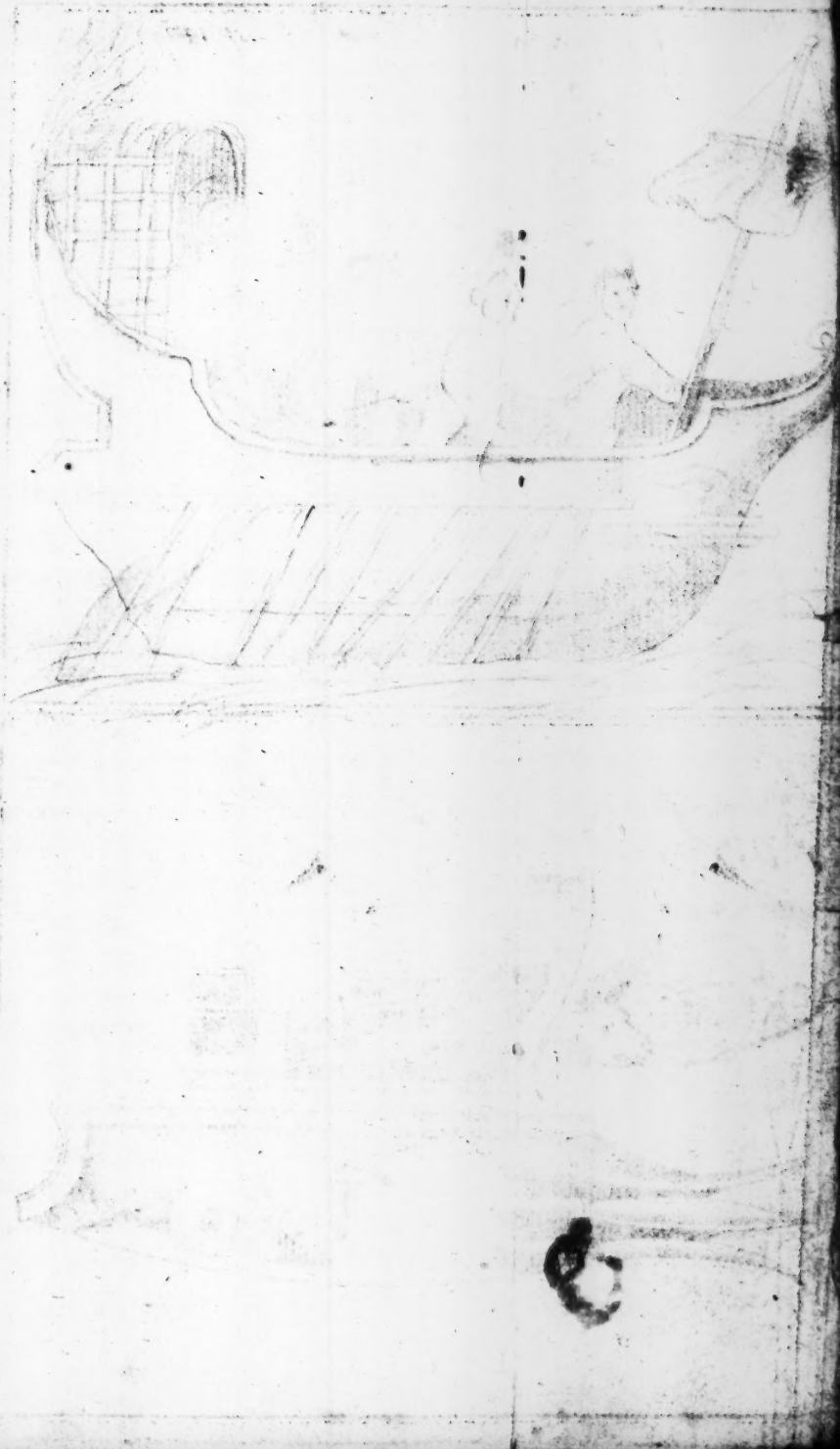
Πόδες, in *Latin pedes*, were Cords at the Corners of the Sails (f), whereby they were manag'd as Occasion requir'd. *Πρόποδες* were small Cords below the *pedes*, which were so contriv'd, to be loos'd, and contracted by them: The Use of both these was in taking the Winds, for by them the Sails were contracted, dilated, or chang'd from one Side to another, as there was Occasion.

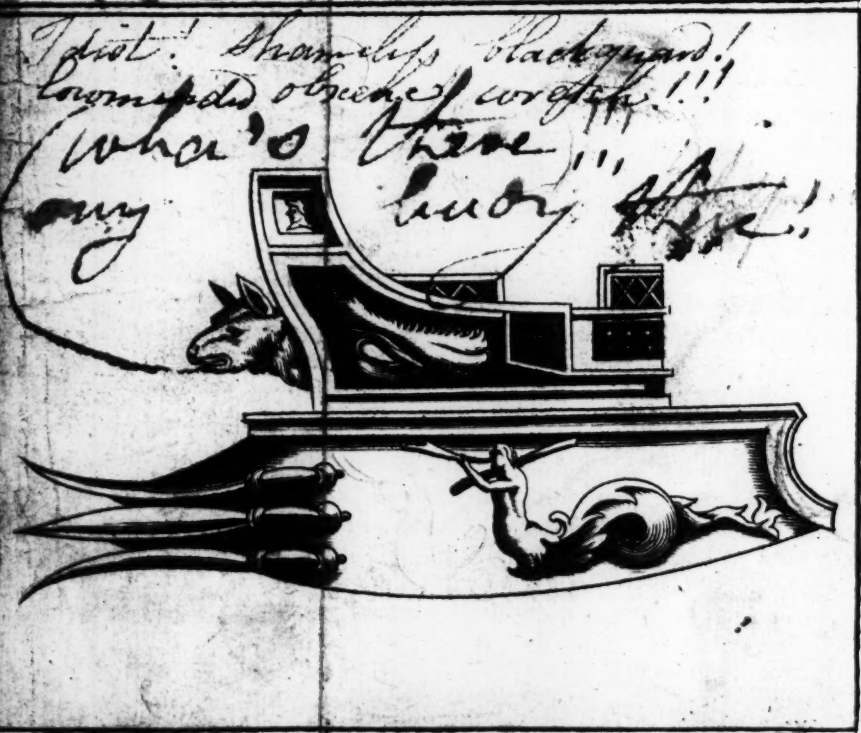
Μισορείαι were those, whereby the Mast was erected, or let down (g); others will have them to belong to the Sails.

Πρότρονοι were Cords, which, passing thro' a Pulley at the Top of the Mast, were ty'd on one Side to the Prow, on the

(a) *ἰσοδμη* *Scholiaſtes* *Odysſ. C.* (b) *Suidas*. (c) *Phavorinus*. (d) *Suidas*. (e) *ἡλακῆτη* (f) *Aristophanuſ* *Schol. Equit. A& I. Scæn. I.* *Apollonii Scholiaſtes*. Vide *comment. in Lycophroni Caſſandr. v. 1017.* (g) *Apollonii Scholiaſtes*.

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other to the Stern, to keep the Mast fix'd and immoveable.

The Materials, of which these and other Cords were compos'd, were at first seldom any thing but leathern Thongs; afterwards they us'd Hemp, Flax, Broom, Palm-leaves, Philyry, the Bark of Trees, as the Cherry, Teil-tree, Vine, Maple, Carpine, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Instruments of War in Ships.

WHAT I have hitherto deliver'd concerning the Parts and Construction of Ships, has been spoken in General without Respect to any particular sort of them; it remains therefore, that in the next Place I give you a brief Account of what was farther necessary to equip a Man of War.

Εμβολον, *rostrum*, was a Beak of Wood, fortify'd with Brass, whence it is call'd χαλκωμα νῆων in *Diodorus* (a), and Ships have sometimes the Epithet of χαλκμβολοι: One, or more of these was always fasten'd to the Prow to annoy the Enemy's Ships, and the whole Prow was sometimes cover'd with Brass to guard it from Rocks and Assaults. The Person that first us'd these Beaks is said to have been one *Piscus* an *Italian* (b); for it will not be allow'd that the primitive *Greeks* had any Knowledge of them, since no such Thing is mention'd in *Homer*, which could scarce have happen'd, had they been invented at the Time of the *Trojan War*. Yet *Æschylus* (c) gives *Nestor's Ship* the Epithet of βραχμυγας, or arm'd with ten Beaks, and *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* speaks of Brazen Beaks.

Μὴ μοι χαλκμβολάστων
Πρύμνας ἔσσι' Αἰλῆς δέξαας
Τῶσδ' εἰς ἄρμης.

O! that these Ships with brazen Beaks
Had never enter'd *Aulis* Ports.

But it may justly be question'd, whether these Poets take their Descriptions from the Practice of their own Times, a Thing frequent enough with Men of that Profession. These Beaks were at first long and high, but afterwards it was found more convenient

(a) Lib. XX. (b) *Plin.* lib. VII. cap. LVI. (c) *Μυρμιδόνων*.

to have them short and firm, and plac'd so low as to pierce the Enemy's Ships under Water; this was an Invention of one *Aristo* a *Corinthian*, who communicated it to the *Syracusians* in their War with the *Athenians*, against whom it prov'd a considerable Advantage, for by these new Beaks several of the *Athenian* Men of War were overturn'd, or torn in Pieces at the Shock (a). Above the Beak was another Instrument call'd *σκολις*, and it appears from ancient Monuments that these Beaks and Scoli were usually adorn'd with various Figures of

Ερωτίδες were Pieces of Wood plac'd on each Side of the Prow (b) to guard it from the Enemy's Beaks: Because Prows are usually compar'd to Faces, these were thought to resemble Ears, whence their Name seems to have been deriv'd: for those are mistaken, that would have them belong to the Hind-deck (c).

Κατασπρώματα, σπινθώματα, or Hatches, sometimes call'd *κατασπρώματα*, whence we meet with *νέες παρασπύσαι, κατασπράκτοι*, and *νεκτα*, cover'd Ships, or Men of War; which are frequently oppos'd to Ships of Passage, or Burden, which were *ασπράκτοι*, and *απερτε*, uncover'd, or without Hatches: This Covering was of Wood, and erected on purpose for the Souldiers, that they, standing as it were upon an Eminence, might level their missive Weapons with greater Force and Certainty against their Enemies. In the primitive Ages, particularly about the Time of the *Trojan* War, we are told by *Thucydides*, that the Souldiers us'd only to fight upon the foremost, and hindmost Decks (d), and therefore whenever we find *Homer* speak of *ἰσρία νηὸς*, which his *Scholiasts* interpret Hatches, we are only to understand him of these Parts, which alone us'd to be cover'd in those Days. Thus he tells us of *Ajax* defending the *Grecian* Ships against the Attack of the *Trojans* (e),

———— νηὸν ἰνέϊ ἐπ' ὄχετο μακρὰ βιβλάδων.

He march'd upon the Hatches with long Strides.

And of *Ulysses* preparing himself for the Encounter with *Scylla* he speaks thus (f),

———— εἰς ἰσρία νηὸς ἔβαινε

Πρώγης. ———

Upon the Hatches of the foremost Decks
He went. ———

(a) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XIII. (b) *Thucydides Scholiastes* lib. VII. (c) *Erymologicus* Auctor. (d) Lib. I. (e) *Iliad* c. 6. (f) *Odysf.* μ.

The other Parts of the Ship are said to have been first cover'd by the *Thasians* (a).

Beside the Coverings of Ships already mention'd, and call'd *καταφράγματα*, there were other Coverings to guard the Souldiers from their Enemies, call'd *ἐκκατάφραγμα*, *περικατάφραγμα*, *ἐκκαταστάσματα*, *ἐκκαταστάσματα*, *περικατάστασματα*, in *Latin plumbi*, and sometimes *propugnacula*: These were commonly Hides, or such like Materials, hung on both Sides of the Ship, as well to hinder the Waves from falling into it, as to receive the Darts cast from the adverse Ships, that under these, as Walls on both Sides, the Souldiers might without Danger annoy their Enemies.

Δελφιν, a certain Machine, which, being usually a Part of these Ships, cannot be omitted in this Place: It was a vast and massy Piece of Lead, or Iron, cast into the Form of a *Dolphin*, and hung with Cords and Pulleys to the Sail-yards, or Mast, which, being thrown with great Violence into the adverse Ships, either penetrated them, and so open'd a Passage for the rising Floods, or by it's Weight and Force sunk them to the Bottom of the Sea (b).

Another Difference betwixt Men of War and other Ships was, that the former commonly had an Helmet engraven on the Top of their Masts (c).

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the Mariners, and Souldiers.

VWE are told by *Thucydides*, that amongst the Ancients there were no different Ranks of Sea-men, but the same Persons were employ'd in those Duties, which were in later Ages executed by divers, to whom they gave the several Names of Rowers, Mariners, and Souldiers; whereas at first all these were the same Men, who laid down their Arms to labour at the Oar, and perform what was farther necessary to the Government of their Ships, but, as oft as Occasion requir'd, resum'd them to assault their Enemies: This appears every where in *Homer*, out of whom I shall observe this one Instance,

ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ πεντήκοντα
ἐμβέβασαν τῶν ὧν οὐ εἶδότες.

(a) *Plin. lib. VII. cap. LVII.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiaster, Suidas.* (c) *Gyal-
dus de Navigat. cap. XII.*

Each Ship had fifty Rowers, that were skill'd
Well in the shooting Art.——

These were term'd *αὐτέται* (a). This was the Practice of those Times, wherein no great Care was taken, no extraordinary Preparations made for equipping Men of War, but the same Vessels were thought sufficient for Transportation and Fight: Afterwards, when the Art of naval War began to be improv'd, it was presently understood, that any one of the fore-mention'd Occupations was enough to require the whole Time, and Application of the Persons employ'd therein; whence it became customary to furnish their Ships of War with the three following sorts of Men:

Ερέται, *κωπηλάται*, call'd by *Polybius* (b) *οἱ ψάραρχοντες*, and by the same Author (c), with *Xenophon* (d) *τὰ πληρώματα*, tho' we are told by the Scholiast upon *Thucydides*, that this is a Name of very large extent, comprehending not only those that row'd, but all other Persons in the Ship, and sometimes apply'd to any Thing else contain'd therein. When Ships had several Banks of Oars, the uppermost Rowers were call'd *θρανῖται*, and their Bank *θράνος* (e): The lowest *θαλάμιοι*, *θαλαμίται*, and *θαλάμανες*, and their Bank *θάλαμος*: Those in the Middle *ζυγῖται*, and *μεσοζυγῖται*, and all their Banks, how many soever in Number, *ζυγά*. Every one had a different Oar, for except in Cases of Necessity one Oar was never manag'd by above one Person, as *Scheffer* hath prov'd at large; Yet their Labour, and Pay were not the same, for such as were plac'd in the uppermost Banks, by reason of their Distance from the Water, and the Length of their Oars, underwent a great deal of Toil and Labour, which those in the inferiour Banks had no Sence of, and therefore were rewarded with greater Wages. The Rowers in Ships of Burden were call'd *σπυγγιλοναῦται* (f), those in *Triremes* *τριηρέται*, and the rest seem to have had different Appellations from the Names of the Ships they labour'd in. Those, that were foremost in their respective Banks, and sat nearest the Prow, were call'd *προκαπῖται*; and, on the other Side, those, who were plac'd next the Stern, were term'd *ἐπικαπῖται*, as being behind their Fellows. Their Work was esteem'd one of the worst and most wretched Drudgeries, and therefore the most notorious Malefactors were frequently condemn'd to it; For, be-

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux* lib. I. cap. IX. *Thucydides*. (b) *Histôr.* lib. X. (c) *Lib. I.*
(d) *Histôr.* lib. I. (e) *Pollux*, *Aristophanu Scholiastes*, *Suidas*, *Erymologici Auctor*,
(f) *Pollux* lib. VII.

side their incessant Toil in rowing, their very Rest was uneasy, there being no Place to repose their weary'd Bodies, beside the Seats, whereon they had labour'd all the Day; therefore, whenever the Poets speak of their ceasing from Labour, there is mention of their lying down upon them: Thus *Seneca* (a),

————— *credita est vento ravis,*
Fususque transitis miles.—————

Unto the Wind the Ship was left,
The Souldiers lay along the Seats.

To the same purpose *Virgil* (b);

————— *placida laxarant membra quiete*
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nauæ.

And now along their Seats the Rowers laid
Had eas'd their weary'd Limbs with Sleep.

The rest of the Ship's Crew usually took their Rest in the same manner, only the Masters (c), or great Persons were permitted to have Cloaths spread under them; so we read of *Ulysses* in *Homer* (d),

Καδ' δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσῆϊ σόρεσαν ἑγυὶς τε, λίνοντε
Νηὸς ἐπ' ἱκεῖσιν γλαφυρῆς (ἵνα νήρετον οὐδ' ἦ)
Πρύμνης, ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἔδρασετο, καὶ κατέλειπε
Σιγῇ. —————

But Cloaths the Men for great *Ulysses* spread,
And plac'd an easy Pillow for his Head,
On these he undisturb'd securely slept,
Lying upon the Stern. —————

Such, as would not be contented with this Provision, were look'd upon as soft and delicate, and unfit to endure the Toil and Hardships of War; which Censure the Athenians pass'd upon *Alcibiades*, because he had a Bed hung on Cords, as we read in *Plutarch* (e).

Ναῦται, Mariners, were exempt from drudging at the Oar, but perform'd all other Duties in the Ship; to which end, that all Things might be carry'd on without Tumult and Confusion, every one had his proper Office, as appears from *Apollonius*, and *Flaccus's Argonauticks*, where one is employ'd in rearing the Mast, ano-

(a) *Agamemnon*. v. 437. (b) *Æneid*. V. v. 8; 6. (c) *Theophrastus* *apud* *Strabo*.
Geographias. (d) *Odysseus*. v. v. 74. (e) *Alcibiades*.

ther in fitting the Sail-yards, a third in hoisting the Sails, and the rest are bestow'd up and down the Ship, every one in his proper Place: Hence they had different Titles, as from ἄγκυρα, Sails, the Persons appointed to govern them were call'd ἀγκυρῖται, those, that climb'd up the Ropes to descry distant Countries, or Ships, were term'd χοινβάται, and the rest in like manner: There were a sort of Men inferior to the former, and call'd μεσοναῦται, who were not confin'd to any certain Place, or Duty, but were ready on all Occasions to attend on the rest of the Sea-men, and supply them with whatever they wanted (a). The whole Ship's Crew were usually wicked and profligate Fellows, without any Sence of Religion or Humanity, and therefore reckon'd by Juvenal (b) amongst the vilest Rogues,

*Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugiivis.*

You'll surely find his Company, some Tarrs,
Cut-throats, or roguv Vagabonds.——

The Souldiers that serv'd at Sea, were in *Latin* term'd *classarii*, in *Greek* ὁπλῆται, either because they did ὁπλοῦν τὰς νῆας, ascend into Ships; or ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπλοῦν τὰ κατὰσώματα, from ascending the Hatches, where they fought. They were arm'd after the same manner with those design'd for Land-service, only there seems always to have been a greater Number of heavy-arm'd Men than was thought necessary by Land; for we find in *Plutarch* (c), that of eighteen Men employ'd to fight upon the Hatches in every one of *Themistocles's* Ships, only four were light-arm'd: Indeed it highly import'd them to fortify themselves in the best manner they could, since there was no Possibility of retiring, or changing Places, but every Man was oblig'd to fight hand to hand, and maintain his Ground 'till the Battle was ended; wherefore their whole Armour, tho' in Form usually the same with that employ'd in Land-service, yet exceeded it in Strength and Firmness: Beside this we find also some few Instruments of War never us'd on Land, the principal of which are these that follow:

Δόρατα ναυμάχα (d), Spears of an unusual Length, sometimes exceeding twenty Cubits, whence they are call'd in *Livy* (e), *hasta longe*, and by *Homer* ξυστὰ ναυμάχα, and μακρὰ (f);

(a) *Cassius Rhodiginus* lib. XXV. cap. XL. (b) *Satir.* VIII. (c) *Themistocles* (d) *Herodotus.* (e) *Histor.* lib. XXVIII. cap. XLV. (f) *Iliad.* v. 587.

Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὑψημελαινάων ἐπιδάντες
Μακροῖσι ξυστοῖσι, τὰ ξά σφ' ὅτι νηυσὶν ἔκειτο
Ναυμαχα, κολλήεντα. ———

With Spears, that in the Vessels ready lay,
These strove to make the Enemy give way,
Long Spears, for Sea-fights only made, compos'd.
Of sev'ral Pieces. ———

Again in another Place (a),

Νῶμα δὲ ξυσὸν μέγα ναύμαχον ἐν πηλάμοισι,
Κολλήεντ' ἐν βλήτροισι, δυνάμει κοσμήσθη.

A Spear with Nails compacted and made strong,
That was full two and twenty Cubits long,
He brandish'd. ———

Δρεπανον (b), call'd by *Appian* δρεσπέπανον, by *Diodorus* (c) δρεπανοφόρος κεραία, was an Engine of Iron, crooked like a Sickle (d), and fix'd to the Top of a long Pole, wherewith they cut in sunder the Cords of the Sail-yards, and thereby letting the Sails fall down, disabled the light Ships. Not unlike this was another Instrument arm'd at the End with a broad Iron Head edg'd on both Sides, wherewith they us'd to cut the Cords that ty'd the Rudder to the Ship.

Κεραῖαι (e) were Engines to cast Stones into the Enemy's Ships.

We find another Engine mention'd by *Vegetius*, which hung upon the main Mast, and resembled a Battering Ram, for it consisted of a long Beam, and an Head of Iron, and was with great Violence push'd against the Sides of adverse Ships.

Χεῖρ σιδηρᾶ, in *Latin manus ferrea*, was a Grappling Iron, which they cast out of an Engine into the Enemy's Ship: It is said to have been first us'd in Greece by *Pericles* the Athenian (f), at Rome by *Dnilius* (g). Different from these were the ἄσπαγες, *harpagines*, said to be invented by *Anacharsis* (h) the Scythian Philosopher; which, as *Scheffer* collects out of *Athenaeus*, were Hooks of Iron hanging on the Top of a Pole, which, being secur'd with Chains to the Mast, or some other lofty Part of the Ship, and then cast with great Force into the Enemy's Vessel, caught it up into the

(a) *Iliad*. ὁ. v. 677. (b) *Pollux* (c) lib. XXII. (d) *Vegetius* lib. IV. cap. ult. (e) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XII. *Athenaeus*. (f) *Plin.* lib. VII. c. LVI. (g) *Julius Frontinus* lib. II. cap. III. (h) *Plin.* lib. VII. cap. LVI.

Air. The Means, us'd to defeat these Engines, was to cover their Ships with Hides, which cast off, or blunted the Stroke of the Iron (a).

The Dominion of the Seas was not confin'd to any one of the *Grecian* States; they were continually contending for Empire, and by various Turns of Fortune sometimes possess'd, and again in a few Months, or Years were dispossest of it: The Persons that enjoy'd it longest, and maintain'd it with the greatest Fleet after *Greece* had arriv'd to the Height of it's Glory, were the *Athenians*, who first began seriously to apply themselves to naval Affairs about the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion: The first that engag'd them in this Enterprize was *Themistocles*, who, considering their Inability to oppose the *Persians* by Land, and the Commodiousness of their Situation for naval Affairs, interpreted the Oracle that advis'd to defend themselves within Walls of Wood to this purpose, and prevail'd upon them to convert their whole Time and Treasure to the building and fitting out a Fleet. The Money employ'd on this Design was the Revenue of the Silver-mines at *Laureotis*, which had formerly been distributed amongst the People, who by *Themistocles's* Persuasion were induc'd to part with their Income, that Provision might be made for the publick Security: With this an hundred Triremes were rigg'd out against *Xerxes's* numerous Fleet, over which by the Assistance of their Allies they obtain'd an entire Victory. Afterwards the Number of their Ships was encreas'd by the Management of *Lycurgus* the Orator to four hundred (b); and we are told by *Isocrates* (c), that the *Athenian* Navy consisted of twice as many Ships, as all the rest of the *Grecians* were Masters of: It was made up of two Parts, one being furnish'd out by the *Athenians* themselves, the other by their Confederates.

The Fleet equip'd at *Athens* was maintain'd after the manner prescrib'd by *Themistocles* 'till the Time of *Demosthenes*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, restor'd to them their ancient Revenues, and devis'd a new Method to procure Money for the Payment of Sea-men, and the Construction of new Men of War: This he effected by dividing the richer sort of Citizens into *συμμοειαι*, or Companies, which were oblig'd, according to their several Abilities, to contribute largely out of their own Substance; and in Times of Necessity it was frequent for Men of Estates to rig out Ships at their own Expence over and above what was requir'd of them, there being a generous Contention between the leading Men in that Common-wealth, which should out-do the rest in serving his Country.

The remaining Part of the Fleet was compos'd of Allies; for the *Athenians*, understanding how necessary it was to their Affairs

(a) *Thucydides* lib. VIII. *Follux*. (b) *Plutarchus*. (c) *Panegyrica*.

to maintain their Dominion of the Seas, would enter into no Leagues, or Confederacies with any of their Neighbours, but such as engag'd themselves to augment their Navy with a Proportion of Ships; which became a double Advantage to the *Athenians*, whose Fleet was strengthen'd by such Accessions, whilst their Allies were held in Obedience, as it were, by so many Hostages, all which upon any Revolt must needs fall into the Hands of the *Athenians*: Those States that were remote from Sea, or unable to fit out Vessels of War, were oblig'd to send their Proportion in Money (a). These Customs were first brought up after the second *Persian War*, when it was agree'd by the common Consent of all the *Grecians*, that they should retaliate the Injuries receiv'd from the *Barbarians*, by carrying the War into their own Countrey, and invading them with the whole Strength of *Greece*, under the Conduct of the *Athenians*, who had at that Time rais'd themselves a very high Reputation by their mighty naval Preparations, and the singular Courage, Wisdom, and Humanity of their two Generals *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. Afterwards, being grown great in Power, and aiming at nothing less than the Sovereignty of all *Greece*, they won some by Favours, and specious Pretences, others by Force of Arms to comply with their Desires; for their manner of treating the Cities they conquer'd, was to oblige them either to furnish Money, paying what Tribute they exacted, or to supply them with Vessels of War, as *Thucydides* reports of the *Chians*, when subdu'd by the *Athenians* (b); *Xenophon* also (c), and *Diodorus* (d) mention the same Custom; Thus by one means or other, the greatest Part of the *Grecian* Cities were drawn in to augment the *Athenian* Greatness.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of Naval Officers.

THERE were two sorts of Officers in all Fleets, one govern'd the Ships, and Mariners; the other were entrusted with the Command of the Souldiers, but had likewise Power over the Ship-masters, and their Crew; these were,

Στόλαρχος, ναύαρχος, or στρατηγός, *præfectus classis*, the Admiral, whose Commission was different according to the Exigency of Times and Circumstances, being sometimes to be executed by one alone, sometimes in Conjunction with other Persons, as hap-

(a) *Xenophon* *Histor. Græc.* lib. VI. (b) *Lib. VII.* (c) *Histor.* lib. I.
(d) *Lib. XIII.* & aliis in locis.

pen'd to *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus*, who were sent with equal Power to command the *Athenian Fleet in Sicily*: Their Time of Continuance in Command was likewise limited by the People, and, as they pleas'd, prolong'd, or shorten'd. We read of *Epaminondas* (a), that finding his Country like to be brought into great Danger upon the Resignation of his Office, he held it four Months longer than he was commission'd to do, in which Time he put a new Face upon the *Theban Affairs*, and by his wife Management dispell'd the Fears they lay under; which done, he voluntarily laid down his Power, but was no sooner divested thereof, when he was call'd to account for holding it so long, and narrowly escap'd being condemn'd to Death; for it was fear'd that such a President might some Time or other be a Pretence to ambitious Spirits, having so great Power entrusted in their Hands, to enslave the Common-wealth. The same reason seems to have been the Cause of the *Lacedemonian Law*, whereby it was forbidden, that any Person should be Admiral above once (b), which nevertheless stood them in no good stead, it thereby often happening that they were forc'd to commit their Fleet to raw and unexperienc'd Commanders.

Επιστάτης (c), sometimes call'd *ὀπισθοαρχός*, was Vice-admiral, or Commander in chief under the Admiral.

Τεμάρχος, Captain of a Trireme, who commanded all the other Souldiers therein. The Captains of other Men of War were dignify'd with Titles taken from the Vessels they commanded, as *πεντηκόντες*, &c.

The Officers, that had Care of the Ships, were the following:

Ἀρχιμερνήται, those, who were entrusted with the Care and Management of all marine Affairs, to provide commodious Harbours, to direct the Course of the Fleet, and order all other Things concerning it, except those which related to War.

Κυβερνήτης, the Master, or Pilot had the Care of the Ship, and Government of the Sea-men therein, and sate at the Stern to steer: All Things were manag'd according to his Direction, 'twas therefore necessary that he should have obtain'd an exact Knowledge of the Art of Navigation, which was call'd *κυβερνητική τέχνη*, and chiefly consisted in these three Things: 1. In the right Management of the Rudder, Sails, and all the Engines us'd in Navigation. 2. In the Knowledge of the Winds and celestial Bodies, their Motions and Influences. 3. In the Knowledge of commodious Harbours, of Rocks, Quicklands, and other Occurrences

(a) *Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda.* (b) *Plutarchus Lyfandro, Xenophon Histor. lib. II.* (c) *Xenophon Histor. lib. II & V. Tollux lib. I. cap. IX.*

on the Sea: All these *Acates* in *Ovid* tells us he furnish'd himself with in order to become an accomplish'd Pilot (a),

*Mox ego, ne scopulis hærerem semper in iisdem,
Addidici regimen, dextra moderante carinam
Flectere; & Olenix sidus pluviale capellæ,
Taygetemque, Hyadasque oculis, Arctumque notavi,
Ventorumque domos, & portus puppibus aptos.*

Left struck against a Rock, I there shou'd stay,
Of steering well I learnt the usefull Way,
Observ'd the *Arctos*, and the *Hyads* too,
The Stars that round *Tayg'ies* glitt'ring Shew,
Have mark'd th' *Olenian* Goat that Rain portends,
And how a noisy Wind each Quarter sends,
I learn'd the safest Ports, and best Retreats
For tatter'd Vessels.——

Mr. Dechair.

As to the heavenly Bodies, they were observ'd by Sailors upon a two-fold Account, being of use to them in prognosticating the Seasons, and Guides which way to shape their Course. The principal of those us'd in foretelling were *Arcturus*, the *Dog-star*, *Aræ*, *Orion*, *Hyades*, *Hædi*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helena*, &c. It was likewise customary to take notice of various Omens offer'd by Sea-fowl, Fishes, and divers other Things, as the Murmuring of the Floods, the shaking, and buzzing Noise of Trees in the neighbouring Woods, the dashing of the Billows against the Shoar, and many more, in all which good Pilots were nicely skill'd. As to the Direction in their Voyage, the first Practitioners in the Art of Navigation, being unacquainted with the rest of the celestial Motions, steer'd all the Day by the Course of the Sun, at Night betaking themselves to some safe Harbour, or resting on the Shoar, and not daring to adventure to Sea 'till their Guide was risen to discover their Way: That this was their constant Custom may be observ'd from the ancient Descriptions of those Times, whereof I shall only observe this Instance (b),

*Sol ruit interca, & montes umbrantur opaci,
Sternimur optata gremio telluris ad undam,
Sortiti remos, passimque in litore sicco
Corpora curamus, fessos sopor irrigat artus.*

The hast'ning Sun had reach'd his wat'ry Bed,
And Night the gloomy Mountains had o'erspread,

(a) *Metamorphos.* lib. III in Fab. *Bacchi*. (b) *Virgil. Æneid.* III. v. 508.

When, Lots resolving who shou'd Rowers be,
Upon the Shore we lie just by the Sea,
With Sleep our drooping Eyes we quickly close,
And give our weary'd Bodies sweet Repose.

Mr. Dechair.

Afterwards, the *Phanicians*, whom some will have to be the first Inventors of Navigation, discover'd the Motions of some other Stars, as may be observ'd in *Pliny* (a), and *Propertius* (b),

*Quæritis & cælo Phœnicum inventa sereno,
Quæ sit stella homini commoda, quæque mala.*

—led by the Art,
The wise *Phanicians* found, and did impart,
You mind what Stars are Signs of Good, or Harm.

The *Phanicians* we find to have been directed by *Cynosura*, or the lesser *Bear-star* (c), which was first observ'd (as some are of opinion) by *Thales* the *Milesian*, who was originally a *Phanician* (d); whereas the Mariners of *Greece*, as well as other Nations, steer'd by the greater *Bear*, call'd *Helice*; whence *Aratus*,

—Εἰρήν γε μὴ ἀνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ
Εἰν' ἀλὶ τελευτᾶσθαι ἵνα γῆν ὦντας ἀγνέειν.

Helice always is the *Grecians* Guide,
When e'er they take a Voyage.—

For the first Observation of this they were oblig'd to *Nauplius*, if you will believe *Theon*, or, according to the Report of *Flaccus* (e), to *Tiphys*, the Pilot of the famous Ship *Argo*. But of these, we are told by *Theon*, the former was the securer Guide, and therefore was follow'd by the *Phanicians*, who for Skill in marine Affairs outstrip'd not only all the rest of the World, but even the *Grecians* themselves.

Πρωτοῦς, or *ᾠκεράτης*, was next under the Master; and had his Place in the Head of the Ships, as his Name imports; To his Care was committed the Tackling of the Ship (f), and the Rowers, who had their Places assign'd by him, as appears of *Pheax*, who perform'd this Office in *Theſeur's* Ships (g): We find him every where assisting the Master at

(a) Lib. VII. (b) Lib. II. v. 990. (c) *Eustathius* *Iliad.* α'. *Arrianus* *Exp.* lib. VI. (d) *Hyginus* lib. II. *Poet. Astron.* *Eustathius* II. σ'. *Theon.* in *Aratum.* (e) *Argon.* I. (f) *Xenophon* *Admin. dom.* lib. V. (g) *Athenæus* lib. XV.

Consultations concerning the Seasons, Places, and other Things (a).

Κελευστής, portisculus, ageator, or hortator remigum, is by some interpreted the Boat-swain; his Office was to signify the Word of Command to the Rowers (b), and to distribute to all the Crew their daily Portion of Food (c).

Τετραγώνης was a Musician, who by the Harmony of his Voice, and Instrument rais'd the Spirits of the Rowers, when weary with Labour (d), and ready to faint, as we read in *Silius* (e);

*Acclivis malo medijs interfonat Orpheus
Remigijs, tantosque jubet nescire labores.*

Against the Mast the tunefull Orpheus stands,
Plays to the weary'd Rowers, and commands
The Thought of Toil away.——

Another, it may be the chief, Use of this Musick was to direct the Rowers, that they, *keeping Time* therewith, might proceed in a regular and constant Motion, lest by an uncertain Impulse of their Oars the Course of the Ship should be retarded (f): Hence *Flaccus* in his *Argonautics*;

———*carminc tonsas
Ire docet, summo passim ne gurgite pugnent.*

His Notes direct how ev'ry Oar shou'd strike,
How they shou'd Order keep.——

Silius also speaks to the same purpose (g);

———*medie stat margine puppis,
Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus,
Et remis dictet sonitum, pariterque relatis
Ad numerum plaudat resonantia cœrula tonsis.*

One ready stands to sing a charming Song
Unto the Sea-men as they row along,
Whose lively Strains a constant Movement keep,
And shew when ev'ry Oar shou'd brush the Deep,
Who, as the beaten Water still resounds,
Applauds their Labour with his Voice.——

Mr. Dechair.

This Musick was call'd *νύλαγος* (h), or τὸ τετραγών μέλ^{ον} (h).

(a) *Suidas*, *Plutarchus Agide*, *Xenophon Administ. dom. lib. V. Pollux*.

(b) *Strabon Expedit. Alex. lib. VI.* (c) *Suidas.* (d) *Censorinus cap. XII.*

(e) *Thebaid. V. v. 343.* (f) *Maximus Tyrius Dissert. XXIII.* (g) *Lib. VI.*

v. 361. (h) *Aristophanes, ejusque Scholia Ran. Act. II. sc. V. Pollux.*

Δίοποι, ναυδύλακες, *custodes navis*, were oblig'd to take care that the Ship receiv'd no Dammage by bulging upon Rocks, or other ways (a); whence, in the Night especially, we find them employ'd in sounding, and directing the Ship with long Poles;

Ὡς ναυδύλακες νυκτέρῃ ναυκληρείᾳ
Πλήκτροις ἀπυθύνουσιν ἕϊαν πρύμνῃ (b).

As those who in the Night-time mind the Ship,
Direct and guide it with long Poles.—

Τοίχαρχοι were either those that had the charge of the πῦρ
ἢ νῆος, or Sides of the Ship, according to *Turnebus* (c); or of the
τοίχοι, or στήλοισι, ἢ ἐρετῶν, i. e. the Banks of Rowers.

Several other Names of Officers occur in Authors; as Ταμίαι, who distributed to every Man his Share of Victuals, being usually the same with the κελύσης, but sometimes, it may be, distinct from him. *Homer* mentions this Officer (d);

Καὶ ταμίαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἔσαν σίτοιο δοτῆρες.

And Officers embark'd, whose Care it was
To give each Man his Victuals.—

Ἐγερὺς (e) was a Person, whose Business lay περὶ τὸ ἑγάραι, about the Fire, and therefore is by some thought to have been the Cook; by others the Priest, who offer'd Sacrifices.

Λογιστής, or γραμματεὺς, was the Bursar, who kept the Accounts, and registred all the Receipts and Expences of the Ship.

CHAPTER XX.

Of their Voyages, Harbours, &c.

WHEN it was design'd the Fleet should put to Sea, the Signal being given by the Admiral, the Mariners hal'd the Ships into the Water, for it was customary, when they came into Harbour, to draw the Sterns to dry Land to

(a) *Ulpian*. lib. LIII. cap. VI. & VII. *Tollux* lib. VII. cap. XXXI. *Eustathius* *Iliad*. 6'. (b) *Sophocles* *Αχαΐδς* συλλαβ. (c) *Advers.* lib. XXVIII. c. XLIII. (d) *Iliad*. τ'. (e) *Tollux*.

prevent their being tosd and dissipated by the Waves; whence *Virgil*;

— *stant littore puppes.*

The Sterns stand on the Shore.

It was frequent also for the Sea-men, underpropping their Ships with their Shoulders, to thrust them forwards into the Sea; so we read of the *Argonauts* in *Valerius Flaccus* (a),

*At ducis imperiis Minyæ monituque frequentes
Puppem humeris subeunt, & tento poplite proni
Decurrunt.*—

The Prince commands that they no longer stay,
His Orders strait the *Minyæ* obey,
And kneeling down, their Shoulders heave the Ship
Into the Main.——

This was sometimes perform'd by Leavers and Spars of Wood, over which Ships were row'd into the Deep; these were call'd *φάλαγγες*, *φάλαγγια* (b), and according to *Homer* *μοχλοὶ* (c);

Μοχλοῖσιν δ' ἄρα πλώγε κατέρυσεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν.

The heavy Ship into the Sea they thrust
With Leavers.——

But, to remedy the great Trouble and Difficulty of these Methods, *Archimedes* the *Syracusan* oblig'd his Country-men with the ingenious Contrivance of an Engine call'd *belix*, whereby the Ships were with great Facility remov'd from the Shore (d); to do this they call'd τὸ πρῦμνον κινεῖν, or νῆας κατέρυειν εἰς ἅλα.

Before they embark'd the Ships were adorn'd with Flowers, and Garlands, which were Tokens of Joy and Mirth (e), and Omens of future Prosperity: Hence *Virgil*,

— *vocat jam carbasus auræ,
Puppibus & læsi naviæ imposuere coronas.*

Now's a fair Wind, and all the Sea-men crown
The Ship with Garlands.——

Because no Success could be expected in any Enterprize without the Divine Blessing and Assistance, they never forgot to invoke the

(a) *Argon. I.* (b) *Hesychius*, *Pollux.* (c) *Odys. σ.* (d) *Plutarchus Marcellus*, *Athenaus.* (e) *Aristophani Scholiastes Acharn. Act. II. Sc. V.*

Protection of the Gods by solemn Prayers and Sacrifices, which as they offer'd to other Deities, so more especially to those, who had any Concern, or Command in the Sea, to the Winds and Tempests, to the whole Train of marine Gods and Goddesses, but above all to *Neptune*, the great Emperor of the Sea: Thus *Anchises* in *Virgil* (a) dares not adventure himself to Sea, 'till he has first address'd himself to *Neptune*, and *Apollo*;

————— *meritos aris mactavit honores,*
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo.

A Bull to *Neptune*, and a Bull to you
He sacrific'd, *Apollo*, as your due.

A great Number of Instances to the same purpose may be met with in all ancient Writers: Nor was it enough for themselves alone to petition the Gods for Safety and Success; but all the Multitudes that throng'd on such Occasions to the Shore, earnestly recommended them to the Divine Protection, and joyn'd their fervent Prayers for their Deliverance from all the Dangers, they were going to encounter (b).

This done, we are told by the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*, that it was usual to let fly a Dove; which no doubt was look'd on as an Omen of safe Return, because that Bird is not easily forc'd to relinquish it's Habitation, but, when driven away, delights to return: Then they put to Sea, the Signal being given by a Shout, by Sound of Trumpet, and several other ways; in the Night it was usually given by Torches lighted in the Admiral Galley, an Instance whereof, we have in *Seneca's Agamemnon* (c);

Signum recursus regia ut fuisse rate,
Et clara lentum remigem emovit tuba,
Aurata primas prora secavit vias.

The Torches being lighted, which, to guide
Us home more safely, in the King's Ship stood,
And summon'd by the Trumpet's noisy Sound,
When ev'ry Man his proper Oar had took,
The Admiral march'd first, and cut the Waves.

Mr. Dechair.

The Ships were usually rang'd in this Order: In the Front went the lighter Vessels, after these follow'd the Men of War led on by the Admiral, which was commonly distinguish'd from the rest by the Richness of her Ornaments; thus we find *Agamemnon's* Ship in the fore-mention'd Place of *Seneca*, going before the rest;

(a) *Ancid.* III. v. 118. (b) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XIII. (c) V. 427.

*Aurata primas prora secavit vias,
Aperitque cursus, mille quos puppes secant.*

The Admiral went first, and cut the Waves,
Prepar'd the yielding Deep, which afterwards
A thousand Vessels cleav'd.——

Last of all the Vessels of Burden came up. If the Winds were high, or Seas dangerous, they were extended out at length, sailing one by one; but at other Times they went three, or more in a breast.

When they arriv'd at any Port, where they design'd to land, the first Thing they did was to run their Ships backwards upon their Hind-decks in order to tack about, this they call'd *ὀπίσθεν πορεύεσθαι*, or *ὀπίσθεν κρέεσθαι* (a), which Phrase is by *Thucydides* elegantly apply'd to those that retreat fighting, and still facing their Enemies: Then they tack'd about, which they term'd *ὀπισπέρειν* (b), turning the Heads of their Ships to the Sea, according to *Virgil*;

Obvertunt pelago proras.——

To the Sea they turn'd their Prows.

Now the Rowers ceas'd from their Labour, and rested their Oars, which the *Greeks* call'd *ἐπέχεν τὸ ράον*, the *Latins* *inhibere remos*, these they hung upon Pins, as we find in *Statius* (c);

*Quinquaginta illi trabibus de more revinctis
Eminus abrupto quatunt nova litora salm.*

Their fifty Oars hung up, they rudely leapt
Upon the new-found Shore.——

For fear their Oars should be in Danger of being broken by the Floods, they hung them not so as to reach the Water, but upon the Sides of their Ships; whence *Ovid* (d);

Obvertit lateri pendentes navis remos.

To the Ship's Sides the Sea-men hung their Oars.

Being safely landed, they discharg'd whatever Vows they had made to the Gods, beside which they usually offer'd a Sacrifice call'd *ἑορτή* to *Jupiter*, firmam'd *ἑορτή* from enabling

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. p. 457.* (b) *Grotius Arateis.* (c) *Thebaid. v. 344.*
(d) *Metamorph. xl. 25.*

them *σποάινειν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν*, to quit their Ships, and recover the Land. Their Devotions were sometimes paid to other Deities, especially to *Nepitune*, who was thought to have a peculiar Care of all that travell'd within the Compass of his Dominions: Thus the Heroes in *Homer* (a);

Οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηληϊὸς εὐκτμένον πολιάεθρον,
 Ἰξον, τοὶ δ' ὅππ' ἐπὶ δαΐδοσσι· ἑρὰ ῥέξον
 Τάυρεσ παμμέλανας Εὐοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτη.

Landed at *Pylus*, where King *Neleus* reign'd,
 With blackest Bulls they sev'ral Altars stain'd,
 A Sacrifice to *Nepitune*.—

Harbours were Places render'd either by Nature, or Art commodious for the Entertainment of Ships, and to defend them against the Insults of Winds and Waves: The former sort were usually at the Mouth of a River, or in a Creek of the Sea under the Covert of some lofty Promontory: The latter were vast Piles, or Heaps of Earth, and other Materials, cast up in the Form of a Semicircle, with Arms of a vast Length extended into the Sea; These were call'd *χῆλαι* (b) from their Resemblance to *Crabs Claws*; or *ἀραιαὶ τῆ λιμνῆς* (c); or *ἀκταί*, as in *Homer*, who speaks thus of the *Phorcynian Harbour* (d);

— Δύο δὲ περὶ λῆπτες ἐν ἀκτῇ
 Ἀκταὶ σποῖζόντες, λιμνῆς ποτε πεπληῖαι.

— There two great Piles stood out,
 Which made an Haven.—

Cicero terms them *cornua* (e): For the Security of the Ships enclos'd therein, we find it usual to fix to the two Ends vast Chains, or Booms, as appears of the *Syracusan Harbour* mention'd in *Frontinus* (f): Nor was it unfrequent to guard them with great Pales fortify'd against the Water with Pitch: Hence Havens are sometimes term'd in *Latin claustra*, in *Greek κλείσεις* (g). On both Sides of the Mole were strong Towers erected (h), which were defended, in the Night, and all Times of Danger by Garrisons of Souldiers (i): Not far distant hence was a Watch-tower with Lights to direct Mariners; this was call'd *Pharos*, which Name originally belong'd to a lit-

(a) *Odyss.* γ'. v. 4. (b) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XII. *Thucydides Scholiast.* (c) *Ioh' xenus Strateg.* lib. V. (d) *Odyss.* γ'. (e) *Epist. ad Attic.* lib. IX. ep. XIX. (f) *Strateg.* lib. I. (g) *Thucyd.* lib. II. (h) *Vegetius* lib. V. cap. II. (i) *Thucydides, Curtius, Polyanius.*

the Island in the Mouth of the River Nile, where the first of these Towers was built, but afterwards was naturaliz'd both in Greece, and at Rome.

The second Part of the Harbour was term'd *σεμα*, in Latin *ostium*, and *fauces*, being the Mouth, or Entry between the Arms of the Semicircle.

Μυχός, was the inmost Part of the Harbour, nearest to the Shoar, and most secure from the Waves, insomuch that there Ships were often suffer'd to lie loose, whereas in other Parts of the Harbour they were usually either chain'd to the Land, or lay at Anchor: It was distinguish'd into several Partitions by Walls, erected for the most part of Stone, under the Covert of which the Vessels had Protection; these Places were call'd *ὄρμοι* (a), whence Homer (b),

ἐν ποδὲ δ' ἄνευ δεσμοῖο μένουσι
Νῆες εὐσελμοί, ὅταν ὄρμος μέτρον ἱκωνται.

The Ships that far within the Harbour lodge,
Without a Chain are safe.——

They were also term'd *ναύλοχοι*, and all together compos'd what was call'd *ναυσταθμός*: Here were likewise the Docks, in which Ships were built, or careen'd, and dragg'd to Land; these were nam'd *ναώσινοι* (c), *ἐπίστα* (d), *ναώεα* (e), &c.

The adjacent Places were usually fill'd with Inns, and Stews (f) well stock'd with Females that prostituted themselves to the Mariners, Merchants, and Artificers of all sorts, who flock'd thither in great Numbers: Most Harbours were adorn'd with Temples, or Altars, where Sacrifices were offer'd to the Tutelar Deities of the Place, and Presidents of the Sea; mention of which we find as in other Places, so particularly in Homer (g), who speaks of a Cave in the Haven of *Ithaca* dedicated to the *Naiades*.

Scheffer will have *stationes navium* to differ from the former in this, that here Ships were not lay'd up for any considerable Time, but remain'd only 'till they were supply'd with Water, or other Necessaries, or on some other short Occasions: They had several Names, being call'd *ὄρμοι* (h), *ὄρρομοί* (i), *ἐνορμίσματα* (k), *πύλοι* (l), *κνέφρσεις* (m); and were frequently at some distance from the Shore, whence *ὄρμῶν* in Plutarch (n) is term'd *ἀποταλύνειν*,

(a) Eustathius Odyss. v. Iliad. α'. (b) Odyss. v. (c) Diodorus Siculus lib. XIV. Suidas. (d) Homer. Odyss. σ'. (e) Demosthen. Schol. Orat. de corona, Suidas, Homeri Schol. (f) Pollux lib. IX. cap. V. (g) Odyss. v. v. 103. (h) Hesychius. (i) Strabo lib. VIII. (k) Appianus lib. V. (l) Polyb. lib. I. (m) Thucyd. lib. IV. ejusque Scholia. (n) Pompeio.

which imports their being among the Waves; and by *Thucydides* ἀγειν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν, which answers in some measure to the Latin Phrase in *Livy* in anchoris stare, to ride at Anchor.

In Times of War they defended themselves with Fortifications on both Sides, but which were made after a different manner; towards the Land they fortify'd themselves with a Ditch and Parapet, or Wall, built in the Form of a Semicircle, and extended from one Point of the Sea to another: This was sometimes defended with Towers, and beautify'd with Gates, thro' which they issu'd forth to attack their Enemies: *Homer* hath left us a remarkable Description of the Grecian Fortifications in the Trojan War (a);

—— ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν,
 Πύργους ὑψηλὰς, εἴλαρ νηῶν τε, καὶ αὐτῶν.
 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον εὖ ἀραρυίας,
 ὅρρα δ' αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἶν.
 Ἐκποδὲν δ' βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρξαν,
 Εὐρεΐαν, μεγάλην, ἐν δ' οὐλοπας κατέπιζαν.

A bulky Wall, and lofty Tow'rs to shield
 Their Navy and themselves, the *Trojans* build,
 On these great Gates for Passages they make,
 Convenient Ways that all their Horse should take,
 And all around they dug a spacious Ditch,
 Fixing great Pales of Wood. ———

Mr. Dechair.

Towards the Sea, or within it, they fix'd great Pales Wood like those in Harbours; before these the Vessels of Burden were plac'd in such Order, as they might be instead of a Wall, and give Protection to those within; in which manner *Nicias* is reported by *Thucydides* to have encamp'd himself: But this seems only to have been practis'd, when the Enemy was thought superiour in Strength, and rais'd in them great Apprehensions of Danger: At other Times all they us'd to do, was to appoint a few of their Ships to observe their Enemy's Motions; these were term'd *παραλαβίδες* (b), and the Souldiers *πύρραγοι*, or *πυρραΐδαι*, from *πυρρός*, a Torch, wherewith they signify'd the Approach of their Enemies (c). When their Fortifications were thought strong enough to secure them from the Assault of Enemies, it was frequent to drag their Ships to Shore, which the *Greeks* call'd *ἐνωλεῖν*, the *Romans* *subducere* (d). Around the Ships the Souldiers plac'd their Tents, as appears eye-

(a) *Iliad*. π'. v. 436. (b) *Thucyd.* lib. I. (c) *Polæmus* lib. III. (d) *Livius* lib. XXII. cap. XXVIII. *Cicero* de Offic. lib. III.

ry where in *Homer*, *Thucydides* (a), and others; but this seems only to have been practis'd in Winter, when their Enemy's Fleet was laid up, and could not assault them; or in long Sieges, and when they lay in no Danger from their Enemies by Sea, as in the *Trojan War*, where the Defenders of *Troy* never once attempted to encounter the *Grecians* in a Sea-fight; at other Times the Ships only lay at Anchor, or were ty'd to the Shore, that upon any Alarm they might be ready to receive the Enemy.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of their Engagements, &c. by Sea.

IN preparing for an Engagement at Sea, the first Business was to disburthen their Ships of War of all Provisions, and other Lumber not necessary in the Action, lest by too heavy a Load they should be render'd unwieldly, and unfit for Service, being neither able with Force and Vigour to assail their Enemies, nor by lightly tacking about to avoid their Onsets: This done, and the Enemy appearing in View, they took down their Sails, lower'd their Masts, and secur'd whatever might expose them to the Winds, choosing rather to be govern'd by Oars, which they could manage at their Pleasure: On this account we read that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, being pursu'd by a Fleet of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, to which he was much inferior in Strength and Number, and having no Way to make his Escape, took down his Sails as preparing to fight; whereby decoying the *Sicilians* to do the like, whilst they were busy and observ'd him not, he unexpectedly hois'd again his Sails, and made away (b).

As to their Order of Battail, that was vary'd as Time, Place, and other Circumstances requir'd; being sometimes form'd like an Half-moon, and call'd *σολος μινυειδης*, the Horns jutting out towards the Enemy, and containing the ablest Men and Ships; sometimes, on the contrary, having it's Belly nearest the Enemy, and it's Horns turn'd backwards, when it was term'd *κυρτή παράταξις*: Nor was it unusual to range them in the Form of a Circle, which they call'd *κύκλον τάπην*; or (to mention no more) in the Figure of the Letter V (c), with the Horns extended in a direct Line, and meeting at the End; which Order was nam'd *ὀπλισμένη παράταξις*, in *Latin* *forceps*, and was usual-

(a) Lib. VI. (b) *Polyanus* lib. V. (c) *Vegetius*.

ly encounter'd by the Enemies rang'd into the same Order inverted, whereby they resembled the Figure of a Wedge, or Beak, whence it was call'd *cuneus*, or *rostrum*; this enabled them to penetrate into the Body of the adverse Battail.

Before they joyn'd Battel, both Parties invoc'd the Gods to their Assistance by Prayers, and Sacrifices; and the Admirals, going from Ship to Ship in some of the lighter Vessels, exhorted their Souldiers in a set Oration to behave themselves like Men: Then, all Things being in Readiness, the Signal was given by hanging out of the Admiral's Galley a gilded Shield, as we read in *Plutarch*; or a red Garment, or Banner (a); which was term'd *αἰγὴν σινεῖα*: During the Elevation of this the Fight continu'd, and by it's Depression, or Inclination towards the right or left, the rest of the Ships were directed in what manner to attack their Enemies, or retreat from them (b). To this was added the Sound of Trumpets, which was begun in the Admiral's Galley (c), and continu'd round the whole Navy (d); it was likewise usual for the Souldiers before the Fight to sing a *Pæan*, or Hymn, to *Mars* (e); and after it, to *Apollo*.

The Fight was usually begun by the Admiral-galley, as we find done at the Battel of *Salamis* (f), and another Time by *Attalus's* Ship (g): It was carry'd on in two different manners, for not only the Ships engag'd one another, and by their Beaks and Prows, and sometimes their Sterns endeavour'd to dash in Pieces, or overset and sink their Opposers; but the Souldiers also annoy'd their Enemies with Darts and Slings, and upon their nearer Approach with Swords and Spears: Thus *Lucan* (h);

*Ut primum rostris crepuerunt obvia rostra,
In puppim rediere rates, emissaque vela
Aëra texerunt, vacuumque cadentia pontum.*

The Ships first meeting shew their fiercest Rage,
And furiously with clashing Beaks engage;
These turn about, and then the Javelins fly,
And Show'rs of Arrows darken all the Sky,
The Sea is cover'd o'er.

Mr. Dechair.

Afterwards he goes on in this manner,

*Jam non excussis torquentur iela laceris,
Nec longinqua cadunt jaculato vulnera ferro;
Misceturque manus; navali plurima bello*

(a) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XIII. *Polyanus* lib. I. (b) *Leo Tact.* (c) *Plutarchus* *Lyfandro*. (d) *Diodorus* lib. XIII. (e) *Suidas*. (f) *Diodorus* lib. III. (g) *Polybius* lib. XVI. (h) *Lib. III.*

*Ensis agit; stat quisque sue de robore puppis
Pronus in adversos ictus.*——

They throw no longer Darts, no longer try
With missive Arms to kill the Enemy,
Both close together come, their Swords they draw,
Each stoutly keeps his Post.——

Nor can it be wonder'd how they approach'd so near one another, when we find it usual to link their Vessels together with Chains, or Grappling-irons, of which I have spoken in one of the fore-going Chapters; whence *Silius* (a),

———*Injecta ligant hinc vincula ferri
Atque illinc naves, steteruntque ad praelia nexæ;
Nec jaculo, aut longe certatur arundine fusa,
Cominus & gladio terrestria praelia miscent.*

Chain'd fast with Irons both the Navies stand,
No Blood the Darts and flying Weapons spill,
With Swords they closely joyn'd begin to kill.

Sometimes, for want of Irons, they so fix'd their Oars, as thereby to hinder their Enemies from retreating: So we read in *Lucan* (b);

Seque tenent remis, toto stetit æquore bellum.

The Ships they hold with Oars, and all around
The Face of horrid War appears.——

This sort of Combat was not unlike a Siege, where the stronger Party prevailing over their Enemies, enter'd their Vessels by laying Bridges between them, and, having kill'd, or taken Prisoners all they found in Arms, seiz'd and dragg'd away their Ships.

When a Town was besieg'd by Sea, they us'd to environ it's Walls and Harbour with Ships rang'd in Order from one Side of the Shoar to the other, and so closely joyn'd together by Chains and Bridges on which arm'd Men were plac'd, that without breaking their Order, there could be no Passage from the Town to the Sea; this Leaguer *Diodorus* calls ζεύγμα (c). The better to prevent any Attempts of the Besieg'd, *Demetrius* is said to have invented a sort of Boom arm'd with Spikes of Iron, which swam upon the Waters; this he plac'd at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Rhodos*, when he besieg'd that City (d): Sometimes they block'd up the Harbour, or made a Passage to the Town by railing a vast

(a) Lib. XIV. (b) Lib. III. (c) Lib. XIII. (d) *Diodorus* lib. XX.

Mole before it, as we read of *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* (a); or by sinking Ships fill'd with Stones and Sand, as we find practis'd by the *Romans*.

The Attacks were usually carry'd on by Men standing upon Bridges between the Ships, and thence with *Darts and Stones forcing the Belieg'd from their Walls: Thus *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* so order'd his Gallies, that, two of them being joyn'd at the Heads, and the Sterns somewhat distant, Boards and Planks were laid over in the Fashion of Bridges, for Souldiers to stand upon, who were in this manner row'd close to the Wall, where without any Danger they threw Darts at their Enemies, being sheltered behind the Fore-decks of their own Gallies (b). Here also, that they might throw their missive Weapons with greater Advantage, and batter the Walls with their Rams, and other Engines, they erected Towers so high as to command the City-walls, from which having repell'd the Defenders, they by this means had Opportunity to descend by Ladders.

The Belieg'd were not at a loss for ways of defeating these Strategems; the Ships link'd together they pull'd asunder with Iron-hooks, the Passage to the Town they block'd up in the same manner the Enemies had done that of the Harbour, or other ways (c); if they could not hinder their Approach, they fail'd not to gall them with Darts, Stones, Fire-balls, melted Pitch, or Metals, and many other Things; and lastly, to trouble you no farther, it was frequent for those in the Town to destroy the Vessels and Works of the Besiegers by Fire-ships, as we find done by the *Tyrians* (d); for, taking a large Vessel, they put a great Quantity of Ballast into the Stern, cover'd the Head with Pitch, Tar, and Brimstone, then by the Help of Sails and Oars brought her close to the *Macedonian* Fortress, where having set the combustible Matter on Fire, they retreated into Boats prepar'd for that Purpose; the Fire immediately seiz'd the Towers of the Fortification, and, by the Help of Torches and Fire-brands cast by those in the Boats, the Work it self took Fire, and that vast Pile, on which so much Time and Labour had been bestow'd, was in a few Moments quite demolish'd: The Use of Fire-ships we likewise meet with amongst the *Rhodians* in *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* (e).

(a) *Curtius* lib. IV. (b) *Idem* ibidem. (c) *Thucydides* lib. VII. (d) *Curtius* lib. IV. (e) *Lib. XX.*

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the Spoils, Military Rewards, Punishments, &c.

VICTORY being obtain'd, the Conquerours rode Home triumphant, laden with the Spoils of their Enemies, and dragging after them the captive Ships, as appears from the Instances of *Alcibiades* in *Plutarch*, and *Lysander* in *Xenophon* (a): the later of them we find to have had Crowns, or Garlands presented him by all the confederate Cities of *Sparta*, as he pass'd by them, which Custom was constantly practis'd by the *Grecians*, from whom it seems to have been deriv'd to *Rome*: Nor was the Admiral, or the Souldiers, and Mariners (b) only adorn'd with Garlands, but their Ships were likewise bedeck'd with them (c); whereby the *Rhodians* were once reduc'd to extreme Danger, for their Enemies having made themselves Masters of their Ships, crown'd them with Lawrel, and entering them, were receiv'd with great Joy into *Rhodes* (d); which Strategem we find to have been commonly practis'd in *Greece* (e). Nor were they beautify'd with Garlands only, but hung likewise about with Wrecks and broken Pieces of the Ships destroy'd in Battel, especially the ἀρπασα, ἀκροβόλια, κόρυμβα, and other ornamental Parts, which the Conquerours were very industrious in procuring to grace their Triumphs; whence of *Hector* threatning the *Grecian* Fleet with Destruction *Homer* says,

Στεῦται γὺ νηῶν ἀποκόψιν ἄκρα κόρυμβα.

These they call'd ἀκροτήρια, and to deprive a Ship of them ἀκροτηιάζειν (f). In this manner the Victors return'd Home, filling the Sea with their Shouts, Acclamations, and Hymns, which were sweeten'd by the Harmony of Musical Instruments, as appears from the Example of *Lysander* in *Plutarch*.

Being receiv'd into the City, they went straightway to the Temples of the Gods, where they dedicated the choicest of their Spoils: Thus we read, that the *Syracusians* having defeated the *Athenians*, and the *Rhodians* after a Victory over *Demetrius*, fill'd the Temples of their Gods with Wrecks of Ships. Nor was it unusual to present entire Vessels to them; for we find that *Phormio*, having overcome the *Lacedemonians*, consecrated a Ship to *Neptune* (g); and

(a) *Hist. lib. II.* (b) *Polyan. lib. IV.* (c) *Diodorus lib. XIII.* (d) *Vitruvius lib. II. cap. VIII.* (e) *Polyan.* (f) *Xenophon Hist. lib. VI.* (g) *Diodorus lib. XII.*

the Grecians after their great Victory over the Persians at Salamis are reported to have dedicated three Phœnician Triremes (a).

Having paid their Compliment to the Gods, the Remainder of their Spoils they bestow'd in the Porticos, and other publick Places of their City, to preserve the Memory of their Victory: To which End they were likewise honour'd with Statues, Inscriptions, and Trophies, the last of which were sometimes erected in their own Country, but more frequently near the Place where they had overthrown their Enemies, and were adorn'd with Arms, and broken Wrecks of Ships, which for that reason were look'd on as a Sign and Testimony of Victory; thus we are told by *Thucydides* (b), that in a Fight between the Athenians and Corinthians, where both Parties made Pretensions to Victory, the former were by most esteem'd to have the justest Title to it, as having possess'd themselves of their Enemy's Wrecks; and King *Philip*, tho' worsted by *Attalus*, yet, because he made a shift to keep his Fleet amongst the adverse Party's Wrecks, would have perswaded the World that the Day was his own (c).

These were the principal of the Rewards peculiar to those who had serv'd their Country by Sea; others they seem also to have been frequently honour'd with, which being such as were common to them with those, who had been usefull in other Stations, may be more properly referr'd to other Places, where I have already treated of them. The chief of their Punishments was Whipping with Cords; which was sometimes inflict'd on Criminals having their lower Parts within the Ship, and their Heads thrust out at Port-holes, and hanging into the Sea: Thus we find one *Scylax*, Master of a Myndian Vessel, to have been treated by *Megabates*, for not being carefull to keep watch and ward (d).

There seems to have been a Punishment, by which Offenders were ty'd with Cords to a Ship, and dragg'd in the Waters 'till they were drown'd; in which manner *Scylla* was treated by *Minos*, after she had betray'd to him her Father and Kingdom.

Others were thrown alive into the Sea, as we read of *Jonas* the Prophet.

Ἀνομιμαχοί, or such as refus'd to serve at Sea after a lawfull Summons, were at Athens themselves and their Posterity condemn'd to ἀπείρα, Ignominy, or Disfranchisement (e), of which Punishment I have spoken in one of the former Books.

Δειπνονῶνται, Desertors, were not only bound with Cords, and whipp'd, as *Demosthenes* reports; but had their Hands likewise cut off, as we are inform'd by *Suidas*.

(a) Herodotus lib. VIII. (b) Lib. VII. (c) Ptolemy Hist. lib. XVI. cap. VII.
(d) Herodotus Terpsichore. (e) Suidas.

Archæologiæ Græcæ :
 OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
 OF
G R E E C E.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

*Of the Care the Grecians had of Funerals, and of
 Persons destitute thereof.*

PLUTO was the first who instructed the *Grecians* (a) in the manner of performing their last Offices to the Deceas'd, which gave occasion to the Inventors of Fables to assign him a vast and unbounded Empire in the Shades below, and constitute him supreme Monarch of all the Dead : And, since there is scarce any usefull Art, the Inventor whereof was not reckon'd amongst the Gods, and believ'd to patronize and preside over those Artificers he had at first instructed, no Wonder if He, who

(a) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. V. cap. XV.

taught the rude and unciviliz'd Ages, what Respect, what Ceremonies were due to the Dead, had the Honour to be number'd amongst the Deities of first Quality, since the Duties belonging to the Dead were thought of far greater Importance, and the Neglect of them a Crime of a blacker Character than of those requir'd by the Living: For the Dead were ever held sacred and inviolable even amongst the most barbarous Nations; to defraud them of any due Respect was a greater and more unpardonable Sacrilege, than to spoil the Temples of the Gods; their Memories were preserv'd with a religious Care and Reverence, and all their Remains honour'd with Worship and Adoration; Hatred and Envy themselves were put to silence, for it was thought a Sign of a cruel and inhuman Disposition to speak evil of the Dead, and prosecute Revenge beyond the Grave; no Provocation was thought sufficient to warrant so foul an Action, the highest Affronts from themselves whilst alive, or afterwards from their Children, were esteem'd weak Pretences to disturb their Peace, and such Offenders were not only branded with Disgrace and Infamy, but by *Solon's* Laws incur'd a severe Penalty (a).

But of all the Honours paid to the Dead, the Care of their Funeral Rites was the greatest and most necessary; for these were look'd upon as a Debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it, were thought accurs'd; hence the *Romans* call'd them *justi*, the *Grecians* δικαιοι, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενοι, ἔθιμα, ὅσια, &c. all which Words imply the inviolable Obligations, which Nature has laid upon the Living to take care of the Obsequies of the Dead: And no Wonder if they were thus solicitous about the Interment of the Dead, since they were strongly possess'd with an Opinion, that their Souls could not be admitted into the *Elysian* Shades, but were forc'd to wander desolate and without Company 'till their Bodies were committed to the Earth (b); and if they had never the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, the Time of their Exclusion from the common Receptacle of the Ghosts was no less than an hundred Years; whence in most of the Poets we meet with passionate Requests of dying Men, or their Ghosts after Death for this Favour; I will only give you one out of *Homer* (c), who introduces the Soul of *Elpenor* earnestly beseeching *Ulysses* to perform his Funeral Rites;

Νῦν δὲ σὺ τ' ὅππῃδεν γυνάξομαι, ἢ παρόντων,
Πρὸς τ' ἀλγχε, ἢ πατρός, ὃς ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἔογτα,
Τηλεμάχῃ δ', ὃν μῦθον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες,

(a) *Demosthen. orat. in Leptin. Plutarchus Solone.* (b) *Homerus Iliad. ψ.*
(c) *Odysf. λ'. v. 66, 72.*

Μὴ μ' ἀκλῆυσον, ἄδαπρον ἰὼν ὅππῃ καταλείπειν
Νοσφιδεῖς, μὴ τοι πένων μὴνιμα γένομαι.

When homewards bound th' infernal Shades you quit,
Don't me unhappy Wretch, my Friend, forget,
If ought of dear Concern you've left behind,
With Zeal tow'rd me let that affect your Mind,
If aged Sire, your Wife, or hopefull Heir can bind,
Let Dirge and Burial solemnize my Fate,
Left I shou'd prove to th' Gods a Reprobate;
This, this I beg, This earnestly implore,
Thus will my Soul to Bliss be wasted o'er.

Mr. Abell,

This was the reason, why of all Imprecations the greatest was to wish that a Person might ἀταφῶς ἐκπίπτειν χθονὸς, i. e. die destitute of Burial; and of all the Forms of Death the most terrible and affrighting was that by Shipwrack, as wherein the Body was swallow'd up by the Deep; whence Ovid, tho' willing to resign his miserable Life, yet prays against this Death;

Demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit.

Death would my Soul from anxious Troubles ease,
But that I fear to *perish* by the Seas.

Wherefore, when they were in Danger of being cast away, it was customary to fasten to some Part of their Body the most pretious of all their Stores, with a Direction to the first that found their dead Corpses, if the Waves chanc'd to rowl them to the Shore, entreating of him the Favour of an human Burial, and profering what they carry'd about them as a Reward, or desiring him to expend some Part of it upon their Funeral (a) Rites, and accept the rest himself: But tho' the Carcase brought no Reward along with it, yet was it not therefore lawfull to pass it by neglected, and to deny it what was look'd on as a Debt to all Mankind; for not only the Athenian Laws forbad so great a Piece of Inhumanity (b), but in all Parts of Greece it was look'd upon as a great Provocation to the Infernal Gods, and a Crime that would call up certain Vengeance from the Regions below (c); nor could the guilty Person be free'd from the Punishment of his Offence, or admitted to converse with

(a) Synesius Epist. Interpretes Historiz Apollonii Tyrii, Meursius in Lycophronis Cassandra v. 367. (b) Aelianus Var. Hist. lib. V. c. XIV. (c) Sophoclis Scholiastes Antigone.

Men, or worship the Gods, but was look'd upon as profane and polluted, 'till he had undergone the accustom'd Purifications, and appeas'd the incens'd Deities. Yet it was not always requir'd that all the Funeral Solemnities should be nicely perform'd, which the Haft of Travellers, that should light upon the Carcase, might oftentimes not permit, but it was sufficient to cast Dust, or soft Earth upon it three Times together, according to *Horace* (a);

*Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit
Injeto rer pulvere curras.*

—— Over the Corpse thrice sprinkle Sand,
Th' officious Deed will not retard your Haft.

Of these three Handfulls one at least was thrown upon the Head.

This indeed in Cases of Necessity was look'd upon as enough to gain the Ghosts Admission into *Pluto's* Dominions, and to free such as happen'd upon their Bodies from the Fear of being haunted, yet was far from affording them entire Satisfaction; wherefore such as had been interr'd clandestinely, or in hast and without the customary Solemnities, if afterwards good Fortune discover'd them to any of their Friends, were honour'd with a second Funeral, as appears from the Story of *Polydorus* in *Virgil*, who being murder'd and interr'd by *Polymnestor*, does yet make his complaint to *Aeneas* at his Arrival in *Thrace*, that his Soul could not rest, 'till his Obsequies were celebrated according to Custom, wherefore the pious Hero

—— *Instaurat funus, animamque sepulcro
Condit* (b).——

Attends the Rites, and gives the Soul Repose
Within a wish'd for Tomb.——

Nor was it sufficient to be honour'd with the solemn Performance of their Funeral Rites, except their Bodies were prepar'd for Burial by their Relations, and interr'd in the Sepulcres of their Fathers; the Want of which was look'd upon by themselves, and their surviving Friends, as a very great Misfortune, and not much inferior to Death it self; as appears from innumerable Testimonies, of which I shall only trouble you with the following; the first taken from the Epitaph of *Leonidas* the *Tarentine*, which runs thus (c);

(a) Lib. I. Od. XXVIII. v. 36. *Quintilianus* Declam. V. VI. *Caelius Rhodigi-*
nus lib. XVII. cap. XX. (b) *Aeneid.* III. v. 62, & 67. (c) *Antholog. Epi-*
gram. lib. III. cap. XXV. ep. LXXV.

Πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλίας κείμεαι χθονός, ἐκ τε Τάραντος
Πάσης, τὺτο δὲ μοι πικρότερον θανάτου.

I from *Tarentum* far remote do lie,
My native Soyl, than Death oh! worse Anxiety.

And *Electra* in *Sophocles*, having preserv'd *Orestes* from the Fury of *Clytemnestra* by sending him into a foreign Country, and a great many Years after hearing he had ended his Days there, wishes he had rather perish'd at first, than after so many Years Continuance of Life to have dy'd from Home, and been destitute of the last Offices of his Friends; her Words are these (a),

Δόμων δέ σ' ὦ πῦ, λαμπρὸν ἐξέπεμψ' ἐγὼ,
ὡς ὄφελον πάριδεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον,
Πεῖν ἐς ξένῳ σε γαῖαν ἐκπέμψαι χερσὶν
Κλέψασα τῶνδε, κἀνασώσασθαι φόνε.
Ὅπως θανὼν ἔκεισο τῇ τόδ' ἡμέρᾳ,
Τύμβε πατρὸς κοινὸν εἰληχῶς μέγας.
Νῦν δ' ἐκτὸς οἴκων, καὶ πῖ γῆς ἄλλης φυγὰς
Κακῶς ἀπώλεσ' οὗς κροτογνήτης δίχα, &c.

Oh! could I with thou hadst, unhappy Youth,
Been slain, before I sent thee thus away,
Then thou hadst ne'er these dolefull Mis'ries felt,
But dy'd in th' Innocence of Infancy;
Then thou hadst had one common Sepulture
With thy dear Father, then thy Sister's Love
And Pity ne'er would thus have heap'd up Woe:
Now thou art in a foreign Land depriv'd
Of those blest Rites thy Friends could once bestow,
And as thy Life unhappy was, so is alike thy Death.

Mr. Abell.

For this reason, such as dy'd in foreign Countries, had usually their Ashes brought Home, and interr'd in the Sepulcres of their Ancestors, or, at least, in some Part of their native Country; it being thought that the same Mother, which gave them Life and Birth, was only fit to receive their Remains, and afford them a peacefull Habitation after Death: Whence it is, that all ancient Authors afford us innumerable Instances of Bodies convey'd sometimes By the Command of Oracles, sometimes out of the good Will of their Friends, from foreign Countries to the Sepulcres of their Fathers, and with great Solemnity deposited there: Thus *Theseus* was remov'd from *Scyrus* to *Athens*, *Orestes* from *Tegea*, and

his Son *Tisamenus* from *Helice* to *Sparta*, and *Aristomenes* (to mention no more) from *Rhodes* to *Messene*. How far this Custom extended to Souldiers, and by whom it was first introduc'd into Greece has been discours'd in the precedent Book.

Nor was this pious Care limited to Persons of free Condition, but Slaves also had some Share therein; for we find the *Athenian* Law-giver commanding the Magistrates call'd *Demarchi* under a severe Penalty to solemnize the Funerals not so much of Citizens, whose Friends seldom fail'd of paying the last Honours; but of Slaves, who frequently were destitute of decent Burial (a).

But if any Person was backward in paying his dead Friends due Respect, or but sparing in his Expences about their Obsequies and Monuments, the Government look'd upon him as void of Humanity and natural Affection, and thereupon excluded him from bearing any Office of Trust and Honour; for one special Enquiry concerning the Lives and Behaviour of such as appear'd Candidates for the Magistracy at *Athens* was, whether they had taken due care in celebrating the Funerals, and adorning the Monuments of their Relations (b): Farther, to appear gay and pleasant before the ordinary Time of Mourning expir'd, was Matter of no small Scandal; for we find it objected by *Æschines* to *Demosthenes* as a Crime of a very heinous Nature, that after the Death of his only Daughter he sacrific'd to the Gods in white Apparel, and adorn'd with Garlands, before due Respect was paid to the Memory of such a Relation.

The great Concern they had about Funerals may farther appear from the Respect paid to Persons officiating therein: For we find the *Cretan* *κατακυῖται*, who had the Care of Funerals, to have been reverenc'd equally with their Priests; and when their Laws permitted to steal from others, as was likewise customary at *Sparta*, those Men were exempted from the common Calamity, to convey away any Part of their Goods being look'd on as a kind of Sacrilege (c).

Notwithstanding all this, there were some so unhappy, as by their Actions whilst alive, or the aggravating Circumstances of their Death, to be unworthy of all Title to the common Funeral Rites, and some to any Funeral at all: Such were these that follow;

I. Publick, or private Enemies; for tho' it was look'd upon as inhuman to deny an Enemy the common Privilege of Nature; yet upon extraordinary Provocations we find it frequently practis'd by the ancient *Grecians*: *Homer* has introduc'd *Ulysses* threatening *Socus* therewith (d); *Hector* likewise promising the same Treatment to *Paroclus* (e), and *Achilles* revenging his Cruelty by

(a) *Demosthen. Orat. in Macart.* (b) *Xenophon de dictis Socratis lib. II.*
(c) *Plutarchus Græc. Quæst. XXI.* (d) *Iliad. v.* (e) *Iliad. π'.*

the like Usage of him (a): The same Poet hath furnish'd us with several Instances of Heroes made *κυσὶ μέλπειν*, and *κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσι τε ἐλώεα*, a Prey to Birds and Beasts: No better Treatment had the Bones of *Pyrrhus*, *Achilles's* Son, treacherously murder'd by *Orestes* (b),

Sparsa per Ambracias quæ jacere vias.

Which lay dispers'd about th' *Ambracian* Roads.

And however this may be thought the Practice of those primitive and unciviliz'd Mortals, yet there want not Instances hereof in more refin'd and polish'd Ages; For *Lysander* the *Spartan* Admiral, having routed the *Athenian* Fleet, caus'd *Philocles* one of their Commanders, and to the Number of four thousand *Athenian* Prisoners to be put to death, and refus'd to give them human Burial (c)

2. Such as betray'd, or conspir'd against their Country (d): Wherefore *Aristocrates*, being convicted of Treason against the *Arcadians*, was ston'd to Death, and cast out of the Bounds of their Country unbury'd (e); for it was thought but reasonable, that Villains conspiring the Ruin of their Country, should be depriv'd of all Privilege in it: *Pausanias* likewise, after he had deliver'd *Greece* from the *Persians*, being found upon some Discontent to maintain a Correspondence with them, was pin'd to Death, and deny'd Burial (f); and the famous *Phocion*, being unjustly condemn'd by the *Athenians*, as conspiring to deliver the *Piræus* into their Enemy's Hands, had his Body cast out of *Attica*, and a severe Penalty was decree'd against any that should honour it with Interrment (g): So punctual were they in the Observation of this Custom, that when the Pestilence rag'd at *Athens*, and the Oracle gave out, that the only Remedy was to fetch *Themistocles's* Bones from *Magnesia*, they refus'd to do it publicly, but, conveying them privately and as it were by stealth, hid them in the Ground. Amongst the Betrayers of their Country we may reckon those who were not active in defending it, for they were likewise frequently deny'd human Burial; whence *Hector* is introduc'd by the Poet, threatening this Punishment to all that would not help him in destroying the *Grecian* Fleet (h);

Ὀν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐτέρωθι νοήσω,
αὐτὲς οἱ δάνατον μιντίσσομαι· ἔδδ' νυ τὸν γε

(a) *Iliad*. χ'. (b) *Ovid*. in *Ibin* v. 304. (c) *Pausanias* *Boeoticus* p. 593. Edit. Hanov. (d) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XVI. cap. VI. (e) *Pausanias* *Messenicus*. (f) *Plutarchus* *Pausaniæ*. (g) *Plutarchus*, *Cornelius Nepos* *Phocione*, *Valerius Maximus* lib. V. cap. III. (h) *Iliad*. ε'. v. 348.

Γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πύρος λιλάχων θανόντα,
 Ἀλλὰ κῆρας ἐρύουσι παρ' ἄστεος ἡμετέρης.

He, that for Spoil and Plunder of the War
 Dares lagg behind, and not in hast repair
 To th' *Argive* Fleet, as soon as known, shall die;
 His Carcase deny'd Fun'ral Rites shall lie
 A Prey for rav'nous Currs, a Mark of Infamy.

Mr. Abell.

Some *Schol'asts* would have this the first Example of the Practice I am speaking of; but *Homer* sufficiently refutes this Opinion by making *Agamemnon* threaten the same Punishment to his *Grecians* in the second *Iliad* (a);

Ὅν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νόστω
 Μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, ἃ οἱ ἐπειτα
 Ἀρκίον ἐσθῆται φυγέειν κῆρας, ἢ δ' οἰωνός.

When to the Fight brisk Cornets sound Alarms,
 That sneaking Soul, who then lays down his Arms,
 And sculks about the Navy out of Fear
 Of any Danger from th' impending War,
 Shall be an Outcast for the Birds of Prey,
 And hungry Dogs as merciless as they.

Mr. Abell.

Before this Instance, *Palamedes*, being condemn'd as a Traitor by the Treachery of *Ulysses*, had wanted Burial, had not *Achilles* and *Ajax* adventur'd to pay him that Office in Opposition to *Agamemnon's* Commands: Nor was the Custom begun here, for in the former Age we find *Antigone* bury'd alive by *Creon* for interring her Brother *Polynices*, by whose means the famous War against *Thebes* was carry'd on, which is the Subject of *Sophocles's Antigone*.

3. To these we may subjoyn Tyrants, who were always look'd on as Enemies of their Country, and us'd in the same manner with those that endeavour'd to betray it to foreign Powers, there being no great Difference between a Domestick and foreign Slavery: So the *Phereans*, having slain *Alexander*, who had cruelly oppress'd them, threw his Carcase to the Dogs; and *Plutarch* observes that this was not a late and modern Custom, but practis'd in the most early Ages, speaking of the Passage of *Homer* (b), where *Nestor* tells *Telemachus*, that had *Menelaus* found *Aegisthus* alive after his Murder of *Agamemnon*, and Tyranny over the *Myceneans*, he would not have vouchsaf'd him Burial (c);

(a) V. 391. (b) Lib. de Homero. (c) Odyss. x. v. 256.

Εἰ ζῶντ' Αἰγίδον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτετμεν
 Ἀτρεΐδης Τροίηνδ' ἐὼν ξανθὸς Μελέαρος,
 Τῷ κ' οἱ εἰδὲ θανάοντι χυτῶν ὅππ' ἔχουσιν,
 Ἀλλ' ἄρα τὸν γε κούεις τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ κατέδαξαν
 Κεῖν' ἄνθρωπον ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἄστεος, εἰδὲ κ' τίς μιν
 Κλαύσαςτ' Ἀχαιῶνιδ'.

If the bold Murd'rer had his Fate surviv'd,
 When *Menelaus* from *Troy's* Siege arriv'd,
 What Ills wou'd then attend his Ghost and Name,
 When *Menelaus* swoll'n with Vengeance came?
 None e'er his Fall shou'd mourn, his Fate lament;
 But, lest his Body shou'd the City taint,
 Remote on some wide Plain it shou'd be cast
 For Dogs and Vulturs to regale and feast.

Mr. Abell.

The *Myceneans* were also sensible of the Wrongs they had suffer'd by him, and, thinking him unworthy of an honourable Funeral, cast him with the Adulteress *Clytemnestra* out of the City, and there interr'd them (a).

4. On the same account, such as were guilty of Self-murder forfeited their Right to decent Burial, and were clancularly deposited in the Ground without the accustom'd Solemnities; for they were look'd on as Enemies to their Country, whose Service they cowardly deserted (b): For which reason *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* was not reduc'd to *Athes*, as the Custom was, but privately interr'd; it being declar'd by *Calchas* to be a Profanation of the holy Element to consume in it the Bodies of such as had occasion'd their own Death (c); and after the Battle of *Plataeæ*, when the Bodies of the Slain were honour'd with the accustom'd Solemnities, *Aristodemus* alone, who was generally confess'd to have acquitted himself in the Fight with the greatest Valour of any Man in the Army, lay unregarded, because he seem'd resolv'd to sacrifice his Life, as an Atonement for the Disgrace he had contracted by surviving his Fellow-souldiers at *Thermopylae* (d). Yet, to put a Period to their Lives on just Occasions seems rather to have been reputed the Effect of a necessary and laudable Courage than any way criminal, or blame-worthy; *Demosthenes* and *Hannibal* are said to have been constantly provided of an effectual Poison, to dispatch themselves with before they should fall into their Enemies Hands; *Caio*, *Cleopatra*, *Brutus*, *Otho*, and several others have not at all lessen'd

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiac.* (b) *Aristoteles Ethic. Nicomach. lib. V. cap. II.*
 (c) *Philostratus Heroic.* (d) *Herodotus Calliop. cap. LXX.*

their Esteem and Character in the Heathen World by becoming their own Executioners: *Plato* himself, when he commands those only, who out of Cowardice and unmanly Fear butcher'd themselves, to be interr'd in lonesome and desolate Places without the ordinary Solemnities, seems to excuse those he thought compell'd to it by great and unsufferable Disgrace, or any unavoidable and incurable Misfortune (a); and 'tis no Wonder if *Epicureans*, who expected no future State, and *Stoicks*, who thought all Things to lie under an irresistible Necessity, pursuant to their Principles, abandon'd themselves over to such fatal Courses. Many other Instances may be produc'd not only from the *Grecians* and *Romans*, but the *Indian* Philosophers, and almost the whole Heathen World.

5. To these we may add Villains guilty of Sacrilege (b), to interr whom was an Affront to the Deities they had robb'd. The Gods were sometimes thought to inflict this Punishment on such Malefactors; wherefore *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King being slain in *Italy*, and depriv'd of Burial, *Pausanias* (c) concludes, it was a Judgment upon him for assisting the *Phocians* in pillaging the City and Temple of the *Delphians*.

6. Persons kill'd with Lightning, or Thunder; who, being thought hateful to the Gods, were bury'd apart by themselves, lest the rest of the *Athens* should receive Pollution from them; therefore *Æschylus* in *Euripides*, speaking of *Capaneus*, saith,

• Η χæeis, ἱερὸν ὡς νεκρὸν, δεῖ σὺν δέλεis ;

Shall he apart be bury'd, as accur'd :

Some will have them to be interr'd in the Place, where they dy'd (d); others collect out of *Plutarch's Symposiacks*, that they had no Interment, but were suffer'd to rot in the Place, where they fell, to which it was unlawfull for any Man to approach; whence *Perfius* (e),

Triste jaces lucis, evitandumque bidental,

A direfull Instance of *Jove's* Wrath you lie,
And whom, being thunder-struck, none dare come nigh.

For this reason the Ground was hedg'd in, lest any Person should unawares contract Pollution from it: It may be observ'd in general, that all Places struck with Thunder were avoided (f), and fenc'd round, out of a Phansy, that *Jupiter*, having taken some Offence, fix'd upon them a Mark of his Displeasure.

(a) De Legib. lib. IX. (b) *Diodorus Siculus* Biblioth. lib. XVI. cap. VI. (c) *Laconieis* p. 178. Edit. Han. (d) *Artemidorus* lib. II. cap. VIII. (e) *Saep. II. v. 27.* (f) *Plutarchus Pyrrho.*

7. Those, that wasted their Patrimony, forfeited their Right of being bury'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers; and therefore we find *Democritus* to have been in Danger of wanting a Burial-place for spending his paternal Inheritance in Travel to foreign Countries, and searching after the Mysteries of Nature (a).

8. To these we may subjoyn such as dy'd in Debt, whose Bodies belong'd at *Athens* to their Creditors, and could not claim any Right to human Burial, 'till Satisfaction was made to them: Whence 'tis reported, that *Cimon* had no other Method to redeem his Father *Miltiades's* Body, but by taking his Debt and Fetters upon himself.

9. Some Offendors, who suffer'd capital Punishment, were likewise depriv'd of Burial; those especially that dy'd upon the Cross, or were impal'd, whom they frequently permitted to be devour'd by the Beasts and Birds of Prey: To which Custom there is an Allusion in *Horace* (b),

Non hominem occidi; non pasces in cruce corvos.

With impious Hands I ne'er slew th' innocent,
Therefore to feed the Crows is not your Punishment.

Juvenal also mentioneth the same Custom (c),

*Vultur jumento, & canibus, crucibusque relictis,
Ad fatuus properat, pariemque cadaveris affert.*

Where Crosses and contagious Murrain are
Vultures in Flocks most greedily repair,
And to their craving Young thence Food they bear.

The Interpreters of Fables will have *Prometheus's* Punishment to be an Emblem of this: If the Carcase was spar'd by the Beasts, it commonly remain'd upon the Cross, or Pale, 'till the Weather consum'd and putrify'd it: Thus *Silius* reports of the *Scythians* (d),

*At gente in Scythica suffixa cadavera truncis
Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia sabo.*

Delinquents Carcases in *Scythia* were
Impal'd, untill corrupted by the Air
The putrid Flesh did drop and shrink away,
And the Bones moulder'd by a long Decay.

Mr. *Abell*.

Nor was this inhuman Custom practis'd in that barbarous Nation only, but by those who made greater Pretensions to Civili-

(a) *Diogenes Laertius Democrito.* (b) *Lib. I. epist. XVI.* (c) *Sat. XIV. 77.*
(d) *Lib. XIII.*

ty and good Manners; as may appear from the Dream of *Polycrates's* Daughter, who phanſy'd ſhe ſaw her Father's Face waſh'd by *Jupiter*, and anointed by the Sun; which was accompliſh'd not long after, when he was hung upon the Croſs, and expoſ'd to the Rain, and Sun-beams (a): Hither alſo may be refer'd the Answer of *Theodorus* the Philoſopher, who, being threaten'd Crucifixion by King *Lyſimachus*, reply'd, that it was all one to him to putrify above, or beneath the Ground (b).

10. At ſome Places it was cuſtomary to interr the Bodies of Infants that had no Teeth, without conſuming them to Aſhes (c): To which Cuſtom *Juvenal* has this Alluſion (d),

*Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrat, vel terra clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi.*—

When a young Lady brisk and gay is dead
As ſoon as ripe ſhe ſeems for th' nuptial Bed,
And when an Infant not yet fit to burn,
Is bury'd, who relents not, who forbears to mourn?

Mr. *Abell*.

If Perſons that incur'd publick Hatred, had the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, it was cuſtomary to leap upon their Tombs, and caſt Stones at them, in token of Detestation and Abhorrence: Which Practice is mention'd by *Æſchylus* (e);

— ἐνδρώσκει τάφῳ,
Πέτρῳ τε λυέει μῆμα δάϊνον πατρὸς.

— He leaps upon his Parent's Tomb,
And in Deriſion batters it with Stones.

Nor was it unfrequent to puniſh notorious Offenders by dragging their Remains out of their Retirements, and depriving them of the Graves, to which they had no juſt Pretention, as may appear from ſeveral Inſtances:

Sacrilegious Perſons were commonly thus treated; a remarkable Inſtance hereof we find at *Athens*, where *Cylo*, an ambitious Nobleman, having ſeiz'd the Cittadel, and being there ſtraitly beſieg'd, found means to eſcape with his Brother, leaving his Accomplices to the Mercy of the Beſiegers; they fled therefore for Protection to the Altars, whence there was no Method to draw them, but by promiſing them Pardon: But no ſooner had

(a) *Herodot. Thal. l.* (b) *Cicero Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. I.* (c) *Plinius Nat. Hiſt. lib. VII.* (d) *Satir. XV. v. 139.* (e) *Electra.*

they left their Sanctuaries, when the Magistrates, contrary to their Covenant, put them to death; upon which Fact themselves were afterwards arraign'd, and banish'd, the Deities so commanding; Nor was this alone satisfactory to Divine Vengeance, 'till their Graves were rifled, and their Remains, which had been convey'd into *Attica*, cast out of the Country (a).

Traitours were condemn'd to the same Punishment; which appears as from several other Instances, so from *Phrynicus* the *Athenian*, who being arraign'd, and condemn'd for Treason some Time after his Funeral, his Tomb was open'd, and his Reliques thrown out of *Attica* (b).

The same was sometimes practis'd upon Enemies, when their Malice and Fury were extended beyond the ordinary Bounds of Martial Law, and hurry'd them on to despoil the sacred Temples, and commit unsufferable Villanies; otherwise, thus to treat a lawfull and honourable Enemy was always censur'd as barbarous and inhuman.

But above all it seems to have been the Fate of Tyrants, who were esteem'd of all other savage Beasts the most hurtfull and pernicious to Mankind: Wherefore we are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Dio* was extremely censur'd for hindering the *Syracusians* from breaking up the Tomb of the elder *Dionysius*, and scattering his Bones: *Periander* the *Corinthian* Tyrant (by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wise Men) to prevent his incens'd Subjects from venting their Fury upon his Reliques, contriv'd this Method; he commanded two young Men to walk in the Depth of the Night in a certain Path, and killing the first Man they met, to bury him privately; to dispatch and interr these he commission'd four, after whom he sent others, and after these a greater Force to treat the former in the same manner; whereby it came to pass, that the Tyrant himself, meeting the first Pair, was interr'd in a Place unknown to any Man (d).

Other Methods were likewise us'd to secure Peace to their Ashes; the Disturbance whereof was look'd on as the highest Affront, and the greatest Misfortune in the World: To instance, we find *Medea* in *Euripides* resolving to bury her Sons in *Juno* *Acraea's* Temple, hoping that the Holiness of the Place would protect them from the Malice of her Enemies (e),

ἐπεὶ σπας τῆδ' ἐγὼ δάψω χεῖ,
 Φέρο' ἐς Ἡρας τῦμβος Ἀκραίας θεῆς
 ὧς μὴ τις αὐτὸς πολέμιον καθύλειον,
 Τύμβος ἀνασσών.

(a) *Plutarchus* de fera Numinis vindicta. (b) *Lycurgus* orat. in *Leocratem*.
 (c) *Dione*. (d) *Diogenes Laërtius* *Periandro*. (e) *Medea* v. 1378.

Affronts and Contumelies to prevent,
 And that their Sepulchres mayn't be defac'd,
 I will my self give Burial to my Sons
 In *Juno's* Temple at th' *Acropolis*
 She presides over.—

Mr. *Abell*.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Ceremonies in Sickness, and Death.

WHEN any Person was seiz'd with a dangerous Distemper, it was usual to fix over their Doors a Branch of *Rhamn*, and *Lawrel-trees*: Which Custom is mention'd by *Laertius* in his Life of *Bion* the *Boristhenite*;

Ῥάμνον τε, καὶ κλάδον δάφνης
 ὑπὲρ θύρῳ ἔθηκεν
 Ἀπαντα μᾶλλον, ἢ θανεῖν,
 ἑτοιμος ὢν ὑπεργεῖν.

Bion the Post of's Door doth grace
 With *Rhamn* and *Daphne's* Plant;
 For Fear of Death in his sad Case
 He nothing now will want.

Mr. *Abell*.

The former of these Plants seems design'd to keep off evil Spirits, against which it was reputed a sovereign Amulet; and on that account sometimes joyn'd with the Epithet *ἀλεξίκακος*; as in this Fragment of *Euphorio*,

— ἀλεξίκακον φέρε ῥάμνον.

Produc'd the *Rhamn*, against mischievous Ills
 An Antidote.—

The *Lawrel* was joyn'd to it to render the God of Physick propitious, who, they thought, could design no Harm to any Place, where he found the Monument of his beloved *Daphne*; these Boughs they term'd *ἀντήνες* (a).

(a) *Etymologici Auctor*.

It may not be improper to observe in this Place, that all sudden Deaths of Men were imputed to *Apollo*; wherefore, *Hector* having lain unbury'd twelve Days, and being by the especial Favour of Heaven preserv'd fresh and free from Corruption, *Hecuba* resembles him to one dead not of a lingering and wearing Distemper, but by a sudden Death; the former being thin and consum'd away, the latter fat and fleshy (a);

Νῦν δὲ μοι ἐρσήεις καὶ πρὸς σφατος ἐν μεγάροισι
Κεῖσαι, τῷ ἱκελῶ, ὃν τ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν.

Now fresh and glowing e'en in Death thou art,
And fair as he, who falls by *Phæbus* Dart.

The sudden Death of Women was attributed to *Diana*; whence *Glaucus* in the same Poet, speaking of *Hippodamia* (b),

Τῷ δὲ χαλωσαμένην χερσὶν Ἄρτεμις ἔκτα.

Incens'd *Diana* her depriv'd of Life.

Again, *Achilles* wishes that *Briſeis* had been snatch'd away by a sudden Death, rather than have been the occasion of Dissention between him and *Agamemnon* (c);

Τῷ ὄφελ' ἐν νήσοι κατὰ κτάμεν Ἀρτεμις ἰῶ,
Ἡματι τῷ ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόβμῳ Λυρνησὸν ὀλέσας.

Oh! that *Diana* her had kill'd, on Board
When first I carry'd her, *Lyrnessus* overthrow'd.

The Poet has explain'd his own Meaning in another Place (d); where *Ennius* reports, that in the Isle of *Syria* the Inhabitants never die of lingering Distempers, but, being arriv'd to a good old Age, drop into their Graves without any previous Torment;

Πείνη δ' ἔποτε δῆμον ἐσέρχεται, ἔδὲ τις ἄλλη
Νῆσος ὅπῃ συγερὴ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·
Ἀλλ' ὅτε γηράσκωσι πάλιν καὶ οὐλ' ἀνθρώπων,
Ελθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξυῖ,
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν.

No Plague, no Famine do's their Lives impair,
No pois'nous Ills those happy Mortals fear,

(a) *Iliad*. ω'. v. 757. (b) *Iliad*. ζ'. v. 205. (c) *Iliad*. τ'. v. 59. (d) *Odysseus*. ε'. v. 406.

Healthy and strong they see the Verge of Age,
Then venerably old they quit the Stage;
Apollo and *Diana* stop their Breath,
Shooting unerring Shafts well fraught with Death.

Mr. *Abell*.

Again, *Ulysses* enquires of his Mother in the Regions below, whether she resign'd her Life under a tedious Disease, or *Diana's* Hand (a);

Αλλ' ἄγε, μοι τόδε εἰπὲ, καὶ ἀπείκως κατὰ λείπον,
Τίς νύ σε κῆρ ἐδάμασσε πανηλικίους θανάτοιο,
Ἡ δολιχὴ νῆστος, ἢ Ἀρτεμὺς ἰοχάειρα
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχουμένη κατέπεφνεν;

This I desire, dear Mother, you'd relate,
By what unhappy Destiny, what Fate
You posted hither to this gloomy Coast,
And all th' Endearments of the World have lost;
Whether *Diana* with relentless Dart,
(That sportfull Deity) transfix'd your Heart,
Or if you did your vital Breath expire
By ling'ring Pain, or pestilential Fire?

Mr. *Abell*.

Other Instances may be produc'd to the same purpose: The Ground of this Opinion was *Apollo's* being usually taken for the Sun, and *Diana* for the Moon; which Planets were believ'd to have a great Influence upon human Life (b).

All dead Persons were thought to be under the Jurisdiction of the Infernal Deities, and therefore no Man could resign his Life, till some of his Hairs were cut to consecrate him to them: Hence *Euripides* introduces *Death* with a Sword, going to cut off some of the Hair of *Alceftis*, whom the Fates had adjudg'd to die instead of her Husband *Admetus* (c);

Ἡ δ' ἔν γυνὴ κῆτεισιν εἰς ἄδ' εἰδὼς,
Στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὥς κατὰ βῆμα ξίφει
Ιερὸς γὰρ ἔστος τ' κτ' χθονὸς διῶν,
Οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγχεος κρατὶς ἀγνίσει τείχεα.

I'm come to loose the brittle Tie of Life,
And send her to th' Infernal Mansions hence;

(a) *Odyss.* λ'. ν. 170. (b) *Heraclides* (vel potius *Heracitus*) *Ponticus* de *Allegor. Homer. Eustathius* ll. 3'. v. 205. & ll. 7'. v. 59. &c. (c) *Alceftid.* v. 74.

This Sword is to initiate the Rites
By cutting off the fatal Lock, on which
Lyes the last Struggle of her panting Breath.

Mr. Abell.

Which Passage is imitated by *Virgil* (a), where he tells, us that *Dido*, ridding her self out of the World before her Time, had not her Hair cut off by *Proserpine*, and therefore struggled some Time, as unable to resign her Life, 'till *Iris* was commission'd from *Juno* to do her that kind Office (b);

*Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
Difficileque obitus, Irin demisit Olympo,
Quæ luctantem animum, nexosque resolveret artus;
Nam, quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco:
Ergo Iris croceis per calum roscida permis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Depolat, & supra caput astitit; "Hunc ego Divi
"Sacrum jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo:"
Sic ait, & dextra crinem secat; omnis & una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.*

Then *Juno*, grieving that she shou'd sustain
A Death so ling'ring, and so full of Pain,
Sent *Iris* down to free her from the Strife
Of lab'ring Nature, and dissolve her Life;
For, since she dy'd, not doom'd by Heav'n's Decree,
Or her own Crime, but human Casualty,
And Rage of Love, that plung'd her in Despair,
The Sisters had not cut the topmost Hair,
(Which *Proserpine* and they can only know)
Nor made her sacred to the Shades below;
Downward the various Goddesses took her flight,
And drew a thousand Colours from the Light,
Then stood above the dying Lover's Head,
And said, "I thus devote thee to the Dead;
"This Off'ring to th' Infernal Gods I bear,"
Thus while she spoke, she cut the fatal Hair,
The struggling Soul was loos'd, and Life dissolv'd in Air.

Mr. Dryden.

What was the Ground of this Opinion cannot be certainly defin'd;
but it seems not improbable that it proceeded from a Ceremony at

(a) *Macrobius Saturnal.* lib. V. cap. XIX (b) *Aeneid.* IV. v. 694.

Sacrifices, wherein they cut some of the Hairs from the Victim's Fore-head, and offer'd them to the Gods as First-fruits of the Sacrifice; whence some imagine the same was thought to be done by *Death* upon Men sent as Victims to the Infernal Gods.

When they perceiv'd the Pangs of Death coming upon them, they made supplication to *Mercury*, whose Office it was to convey the Ghosts to the Regions below: An Instance hereof we have in a *Cean* Matron, who being about to ridd her self of Life by a Draught of Poison, first call'd upon *Mercury* to grant her a pleasant Journey, and convey her to a commodious Habitation in *Pluto's* Dominions (a).

Their Friends and Relations, perceiving them at the Point of resigning their Lives, came close to the Bed where they lay, to bid them Farewel, and catch their dying Words, which they never repeated without Reverence: The want of Opportunity to pay this Compliment to *Hector* furnishes *Andromache* with Matter of Lamentation, which she thus expresses (b),

Οὐ γάρ μοι θνήσκων ληχέων ἐκ χειρὸς ὄρεξας,
Οὐδέ τι μοι εἶπες πυκνὸν ἔπος, ἢ τέ κεν αἰεὶ
Μεμνήμην, νόκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δακρυχέουσα.

I saw him not when in the Pangs of Death,
Nor did my Lips receive his latest Breath,
Why held he not to me his dying Hand?
And why receiv'd not I his last Command?
Something he wou'd have said had I been there,
Which I shou'd still in sad Remembrance bear;
For I cou'd never, never Words forget,
Which Night and Day I wou'd with Tears repeat.

Mr. Congreve.

They kiss'd and embrac'd the dying Person, so taking their last Farewell; which Custom was very ancient, being deriv'd from the Eastern Nations; for we find in the Holy Writings, that *Joseph* fell upon his *Father Jacob's* Neck, when he lay upon his Death-bed, and kiss'd him (c). They endeavour'd likewise to receive in their Mouth his last Breath, as phansying his Soul to expire with it, and enter into their Bodies: And at the Time of his Departure, it was customary to beat brazen Kettles, which was thought an excellent Method to drive away evil Spirits, and Phantasms, whose airy Forms were not able to endure so harsh a Noise (d); thus they imagin'd the dead Man's Ghost secur'd from Furies, and quietly convey'd to a peacefull Habitation in the *Elysian* Fields:

(a) *Valerius Maximus* lib. II. cap. VI. (b) *Iliad.* α'. v. 743. (c) *Genes.* cap. L.
(d) *Theocriti Scholiastes.*

For 'twas an old Opinion, that, there being two Mansions in the Infernal Regions, one on the Right-hand pleasant and delightful, the other on the Left appointed for the Souls of wicked Wretches, the Furies were always ready to hurry departed Souls to the Place of Torment: *Virgil* has an Allusion to this Phansy (a),

*Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,
Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mania tendit,
Hac iter Elysium nobis; at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.*

'Tis here in different Paths the Way divides,
The Right to *Pluto's* golden Palace guides,
The Left to that unhappy Region tends,
Which to the Depth of *Tartarus* descends,
The Seat of Night profound, and punish'd Fiends.

Mr. Dryden.

Death and all Things concerning it were ominous and ill-boding, and are therefore frequently exprets'd in soft'ning Terms: To die is commonly term'd *ἀποβιβαῖν*, to which the *Latin* *denasci* answers: Sometimes 'tis call'd *οἰχεῖσθαι*, to depart; and the Dead, *οἰχοῦντες*: So also *Chio* in an Epistle to *Plato* saith, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελεύσμαι, I will depart out of the World: In the same Sence we find the *Latin* Word *abitis*, which is a synonymous Term for Death (b); and *abitis*; as when *Pliny* writes, that *Virginus Rufus plenus annis abijt, plenus honoribus* (c), departed full of Years, and Honours: Thus also the *Greeks* use *βελίασι*, i. e. he once liv'd; and the *Romans* *vixit*, and *fuit*; thus *Virgil*,

—Fuit Ilium, & ingens
Gloria Teucrorum.—

Glory did once attend the *Dardan* State,
It's Spires then glitter'd, and it's Chiefs were great.

Tibullus, with several others, hath us'd the same Expression (d);

*Vivite felices, memores & vivite nostri,
Sive erimus, seu nos fata fuisse velint.*

In a blest Series may your Lives glide on,
If while I live, or when I'm dead and gone,
One transient Glance you'll on my Memory cast,
And in soft Accents say, He's gone and past.

Mr. Abell.

(a) *Æn.* VLv. 540. (b) *Festus*. (c) *Lib.* II. *Epist.* I. (d) *Lib.* III. *Eleg.* V. Sometimes

Sometimes they use *κέκμηκε*, and *καμώντες*: Thus *Homer* (a),

——— Οἱ ὑπέρειδε καμώντας

Ανδρώπας πίνυδον, ὅ, τις κ' ὀπίορκον ὀμόσῃ.

Ye dire Avengers of all perjur'd Slaves,
When once they're dead, and cover'd in their Graves.

Again (b),

——— βροτῶν εἶδωλα καμώντων.

——— The Ghosts of th' Dead.

But the most frequent are Names taken from Sleep; to which Death bears a near Resemblance; whence the Poets feign them to be Brothers, and *κοιμάσθαι*, or *εὔδειν* are commonly us'd for dying; thus *Callimachus* (c);

Τῇ δὲ Σάων, ὁ Δίκωνος, Ἀχάντιος, ἔειπ' ὕπνον
Κοιμάσθαι. —————

Saon th' *Acanthian*, *Dicon's* Son, hard by
In everlasting Sleep wrapt up doth lie.

In another Place (d);

——— Ἡ δ' ἀπολείξει

Εὐδάδε τ' πάσας ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον.

The common Debt of all Mankind she sleeps.

Orpheus hath us'd the same Metaphor in his *Argonauticks*,

Εὐδεις, Ἀγνιάδην, γλυκερῷ βεβλημένης ὕπνῳ.

Agniades, thou art in soft Repose

Lock'd up. —————

Many other like Passages occur both in profane and inspir'd Writers; and so common was this Way of speaking with the primitive Christians, that their Burying-places were call'd *κοιμητήρια*, which is a Term of the same Sence with *Lycophron's* *εὐνασθεῖα* (e);

Σίδωνος εἰς θυγατρὸς εὐνασθείον.

To th' sleeping Place of *Sidon's* Daughter.

(a) *Iliad*. γ'. (b) *Odys.* λ'. (c) Epigram, XV. (d) Epigram. XXII.
(e) *Cassandr.* v. 583.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Ceremonies before the Funeral.

NO sooner had any Person expir'd, when they clos'd his Eyes, which they term'd καθαρεύειν, συναρμόσκειν, συχλαίειν τὰς ὀφθαλμούς, or τὰ βλέφαρα, &c. Which Custom was so universally practis'd, that no Person, who has the least Acquaintance with ancient Writers, can be ignorant of it: Hence it came, that καταμύειν was us'd for θνήσκειν.

This done, his Face was cover'd: Whence *Hippolytus* in *Euripides*, being at the Point to expire, calls upon his Father *Theseus* to do him that Office (a),

Κρύψον δέ μιν πρὸς ὤπλον ὡς τάχος πέπλοις.

Veil my Face over quickly with a Sheet.

Indeed almost all the Offices about the Dead were perform'd by their nearest Relations; nor could a greater Misfortune befall any Person, than to want these last Respects; *Electra* in *Sophocles* seems to prefer Death it self before it; infinite Numbers of Instances might be produc'd to the same purpose, were it not too commonly known to need any farther Confirmation. All the Charges expended on Funerals, and the whole Care and Management of them belong'd also to Relations; saving that Persons of extraordinary Worth were frequently honour'd with publick Funerals, the Expences whereof were defray'd out of the Exchequer; thus we find *Democritus* at *Abdera*, *Zeno* and *Aristides* at *Athens*, *Epaminondas* at *Thebes*, *Gryllus* *Xenophon's* Son at *Mantineia*, with many others, to have had their Funerals celebrated at the publick Expence.

To return, before the Body was cold, they compos'd all the Members, stretching them out to their due Length; this they term'd ἐκτείνειν, or ὀρθέν: Whence the Maid in *Euripides's Hippolytus*, as soon as *Phædra* had expir'd her last, cries out to some of her own Sex to perform this Office (b);

Ὁρῶσατ' ἐκτείνοντες ἄθλιον νέκυον,
Πικρὸν τόδ' οἰκόμεμα δεσπότῃς ἐμοῖς.

(a) *Euripid. Hippolyt.* v. 1458. (b) V. 786.

Tho' 'tis a Service that will bitter prove,
And grieve the Souls of my most wretched Masters,
Yet lay the Corpse of the dead Lady out.

Not long after the *Chorus* saith,

Ἦδη γὰρ ὡς νεκρὸν νιν ἐκτείνεσι δῆ.

As it is usual, they lay her out.

After this the dead Body was wash'd; hence *Alceſtis* in *Enripides* (a) upon the Approach of the fatal Day, wherein ſhe was to lay down her Life for her Husband *Admetus*, wash'd her ſelf in the River,

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤδεθ' ἡμέραν ἤ κρείαν
ἤκισαν, ὕδασι ποταμίου λευκὸν χεῖρα
ἐλῶσατ'. ———

The pious Dame did in the River wash
Her beauteous Body, when the fatal Day
Of her own Exit did approach. ———

Plato tells us, that *Socrates* wash'd himself before his Execution, to save the Women a Trouble (b); for this Office was commonly perform'd by Women related to the Party deceas'd; only in Cases of Neceſſity others were employ'd therein; ſo we find that poor *Theagenes*, having neither Wife, nor Child, nor any near Relation of his own, was wash'd by the *Cynicks* (c). At ſome Places there were Veſſels in the Temples deſign'd for this Uſe; theſe were call'd in *Latin* *labra*, whence ſome derive the Word *delubrum* (d).

This done, the Body was anointed; *Pliny* reports, that the *Grecians* never us'd Ointment till the Time of *Alexander the Great*, when they had it convey'd out of *Persia* (e); and *Homer*, tho' frequently mentioning the Cuſtom of anointing the Dead, yet uſeth no other Material beſide Oyl: Thus they anointed *Patroclus* (f);

Καὶ τότε δὴ λῶσαντο, καὶ ἤλεψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.

As ſoon as wash'd, they 'nointed him with Oyl.

But *Athenæus* will by no means allow *Homer's* Oyl to have been diſtinguiſh'd from *μύρον*, or Ointment properly ſo call'd (g); and

(a) V. 156. (b) *Thalione*. (c) *Galenus* de methodo medendi lib. XIII. cap. XV. (d) *Asconius* de divinatione. (e) *Nat. Hiſt.* lib. XIII. cap. I. (f) *Iliad.* τ'. v. 350. (g) *Διπύροφ.* lib. XV.

we find that *Solon* allow'd his Citizens the Use of Ointments, forbidding only Slaves to perfume themselves therewith (a): Whence it seems probable, that however the *Grecians* might not have any Knowledge of those costly Ointments the *Persians* furnish'd them with, yet they were not unacquainted with the Use of another sort.

After the Body was wash'd and anointed, they wrapt it in a Garment, which seems to have been no other than the common *pallium*, or Cloak, they wore at other Times (b), as we find the *Romans* made use of their *toga*: Thus *Misenus* in *Virgil*, being first wash'd and anointed, then (as the Custom was) laid upon a Bed, was wrapp'd in the Garments he had usually worn (c);

*Pars calidos laices, & athena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis, & unguunt:
Fit gemitus: Tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
Conjiciunt.*—————

Some, being mov'd with Pity tow'rd's their Friend,
Water to boyl in Caldrons do attend,
Then wash his cold and stiffen'd Limbs all o'er
To try if quick'ning Heat they can restore;
With Essences and Oyls they scent the dead,
And then repose him on his fun'ral Bed;
Their glowing Passion in deep Sighs they vent,
And full of Sorrow dolefully lament;
On him the Robes they cast he us'd to wear,
Which having done, they heave him on the Bier.

Mr. Abell.

After this, the Body was adorn'd with a rich and splendid Garment; hence we find that before *Socrates* took the fatal Draught, *Apollodorus* brought him a Cloak, with a Garment of great Value (d), it being the Philosopher's Desire to prepare himself for his Funeral before he dy'd: 'Tis reported also, that *Philocles* the *Athenian* Admiral, being overcome, and sentenc'd to Death by *Lysander* the *Spartan*, wash'd himself, and put on his best Apparel, before he was executed (e); the same we read of *Alcestis* in *Euripides*,

Επει δ' ἤδεδ' ἡμέραν ᾗ κτεῖαν
ἤκυσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χεῖρα

(a) *Plutarchus Solone.* (b) *Apuleius Florid. I.* (c) *Aeneid VI. v. 218.*
(d) *Laertius Socrate, Alianus Var. Hist. lib. I. cap. XVI.* (e) *Plutarchus Lysander.*

Ελάσατ', ἐκ δ' ἐλῶσα κεδρίνων δόμων

Εδῆτα, κόσμον τ' εὐφρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο.

The pious Dame, before the fatal Day
Of her own Exit, bath'd her beauteous Limbs
In gentle Rivulets, then she put on
A splendid Vest, and decent Ornaments
Of rich Attire.

Mr. Abell.

The whole Body was cover'd with this Garment; it's Colour was commonly white, as we find in *Homer* speaking of *Patroclus* (a),

Εν λεχέεσσι δὲ δέντες ἐάνῳ λιπὶ χέλυσαν

Ες πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς καδύπερθε ὃ φάρει λευκῷ.

In a white linnen Shroud from Head to Foot
They put the Corpse, when on a Bed laid out.

Whence *Artemidorus* reckons it an unlucky Omen, and presaging Death, for a sick Person to have white Apparel (b): This Colour seems to have been us'd to denote the Simplicity and Harmlessness of the Dead (c). So concern'd were they about this Garment, that, as some think, they frequently prepar'd it for themselves, and Friends during Life: Thus *Penelope* is introduc'd by *Homer* speaking to her Courtiers (d),

Κῆρυι, ἐμοὶ μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,

Μίμνετ' ἐπεργόμενοι τ' ἐμὸν γάμον, εἰσόκε φᾶεος

Εκτελέσω (μὴ μοι μεταμώλια νήματ' ὀληται)

Λαέρτη ἥρωϊ ταφῆιον, εἰς ὃ τε κέν μιν

Μοῖρ' ὅλοῦ καδέλῃσι τανηλεγέος θανάτῳ

Since my *Ulysses*, as 'tis said, is slain,
And clotted Gore won't circulate again,
Gentlemen, you that vig'rous Rivals are
In courting me, your hot Pursuit forbear,
'Till I have spun this Web against grim Death
With his cold Hands shall stop *Laërtius's* Breath.

Mr. Abell.

Thus likewise *Euryalus* being slain, his Mother is brought in complaining (e),

—Nec te tua funera mater

Prodixi, pressus oculos, aut vulnera larvi,

(a) *Iliad*. σ'. v. 352. (b) *Oneirocrit.* lib. II. cap. III. (c) *Plutarchus* Quæst. Rom. (d) *Odysse* c'. v. 95. (e) *Virgil. Æneid.* IX. v. 486.

*Veste regens, tibi quam noctes festina diesque
Urgebam, & tela curas solabar amiles.*

What Pangs of Grief my throbbing Breast invade
To think thy mangled Carcase was not laid
Forth on it's Pile by me; oh! sad Surprise,
That I wa'n't by to close thy beauteous Eyes,
Just as th' expiring Soul did take her flight
Into the Regions of Infernal Night;
Oh! had I wash'd each Wound, each sever'd Vein,
When thou scarce cold laidst weltring on the Plain,
And had the Vest spread o'er thee, Day and Night
Which I have spun my Dotage to Delight.

Mr. Abell.

But it may be disputed whether these were made on purpose for Funeral-garments, or only design'd to be worn, and apply'd to the former Use in case the Person should dye; it being usual (as hath been already observ'd) to wrap dead Bodies in the Garments, they had us'd when alive: The later Opinion seems more probable from the Words which *Penelope* adds,

Μῆτις μοι καὶ δῆμον Ἀχαιῶδων νυμεστήτη,
Αἶκεν ἄτερ πέρις κείται, πολλὰ κτεάπασας.

Left, if my Sire without a Coat shou'd lie,
Shame and Reproach I might incur thereby
From *Grecian* Ladies, since this Duty he,
Having such large Revenues, claims of me.

Mr. Abell.

And it bears no great Shew of Reason, that a Mother should comfort her self by weaving a Winding-Sheet for her young Son, who at that Time was likely to have liv'd many Years: However that be, it is observable that the *Lacedemonians*, as in most other Things, so here also ran counter to the rest of the *Grecians*; For whereas in other Places the Dead were cloath'd with costly Apparel, which none, except the poorer sort, ever wanted, the *Spartan* Law-giver order'd, that Persons of the greatest Valour and Merit should be bury'd in nothing but a red Coat, which was the common Habit of Souldiers; to the rest even this was deny'd (a); for he thought it wholly absurd and unreasonable, that those, who thro' the whole Course of their Lives had been accusom'd to contemn Riches, and superfluous Ornaments, should be deck'd therewith when dead: Nor were any Ointments, or

(a) *Alianus* Var. Hist. lib. V. cap. VI.

costly Perfumes us'd there, being look'd on as conducing nothing to the Felicity of the Dead, and unworthy of the *Lacedemonian* Gravity.

The next Ceremony was the bedecking the dead Body with Chaplets of Flowers, and green Boughs: Thus *Talthybius* puts on *Hecuba* to adorn her Grand-son *Astyanax* (a),

———— Πέπλοισιν ὡς αἰεσίλης νεκρὸν,
Στεφάνοις δ', ὅση σοι δυνάμει, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

That you adorn the Corpse with costly'st Robes,
With Chaplets, and what other Pomp you can.

When Persons of Worth and Character dy'd in foreign Countries, their Remains, being brought Home in Urns, were honour'd with the Ceremonies customary at other Funerals, but more especially with this I am speaking of; *Plutarch* reports, that all the Cities, thro' which *Demetrius's* Ashes were convey'd, sent Mourners to meet the sacred Urn, with others to perform the Rites usual on such Occasions, or at least they crown'd it with Garlands (b): The same Author reports, that *Philopamen's* Relicks were attended by Captives in Chains, and his Urn so cover'd with Ribbands and Chaplets, that scarce any Part of it was to be seen (c): This Ceremony was either taken from the *Games*, wherein the Conquerors were rewarded with Crowns of Leaves, as signifying that the Dead had finish'd their Course (d); or was design'd to express the unmix'd and everlasting Pleasures the Dead were to enjoy upon their removal out of this painfull and troublesome World (e); for Garlands were an Emblem of Mirth and Joyfulness, and therefore usually worn at Banquets and Festivals: The same may be observ'd of Ointments and Perfumes, the constant Attendants of Gaiety and Pleasantness: To both these Ceremonies we have an ingenious Allusion of an old Poet in *Stobæus*,

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔτιωσ' ἂν ποτ' ἐστεφανωμένοι
Πρὸ κλέμεθ' ἄνδρες, εἰδὲ κατακεχειρισμένοι,
Εἰ μὴ καταβάντας εὐδείας πίνειν ἔδει
Διὰ ταῦτα γάρ τοι καὶ καλῶνται μακάριοι,
Πᾶς γὰρ λέγει τις, ὁ μακαρίτης οἴχεται.

Not that we less compassionate are grown,
Do we at Funerals our Temples crown,

(a) Euripid. *Troas* v. 1143. (b) *Demetrio*. (c) *Philopamene*. (d) *Suidas*.
(e) *Clementis Alexandrin* *Στοβαμ.* lib. II. cap. VIII.

Or with sweet Essences adorn our Hair,
And all the Marks of pleasing Transport wear;
But 'cause we're sure of that more happy State,
To which kind Death doth ev'ry Soul translate,
Which here by drinking we anticipate;
For soon as Death his fatal Shaft has hurl'd,
And us transmitted to the other World,
We drinking sign th' immortal Beverage,
And in sweet Joys Eternity engage;
Hence they by ev'ry one are only said
To be right happy, that are truly dead.

Mr. Hutchin.

This done they proceeded *αερίθετον*, *collocare*, to lay out the dead Body; sometimes they plac'd it upon the Ground, sometimes upon a Bier, call'd *λέκτρον*, *φέρτρον*, or *φέρετρον*, which they bedeck'd with various sorts of Flowers: Some are of opinion the Corpse was first laid out upon the Ground, afterwards lifted upon a Bier. This Office, as most of the former, was perform'd by the nearest Relations; whence *Lysias* (a) amongst other aggravating Circumstances, that attended the Death of *Eratosthenes*, who was condemn'd by the *Thirty Tyrants* of *Athens*, reckons this as none of the least, that they laid him out, assuming thereby an Office belonging of right only to the nearest and most tender Relations: *Tiberius Caesar* is likewise censur'd by *Dio*, not only as neglecting to visit *Livia* when sick, but because he laid her not out with his own Hands, when she was dead (b). The Place, where the Bodies were laid out, was near the Entrance of the House; which being sometimes term'd *αερωπιον*, it came to pass that dead Men were call'd *αερωπιεις*; whence *Euripides* (c),

Η δ' αερωπιης εστι κ' ψυχρῶτατος.

The reason of this Ceremony was, that all Persons might have Opportunity to search, whether the Party deceas'd had any Wounds, or other Marks of an untimely and violent Death (d). It may be farther observ'd, that the Feet were always turn'd toward the Gate: Hence *Perfius* (e),

—Tandemque beuulus alto
Compositus lecto, crassisque lutatus amomis,
In portam rigidos calces extendit.—

Our dear departed Brother lies in State;
His Heels stretch'd out and pointing to the Gate.

(a) Orat. De cæde *Eratosthenis*. (b) Lib. LVIII. (c) *Alceſtide*. (d) *Po-
lux lib. VIII. cap. VII.* (e) *Sat. III. v. 103.*

Achilles in *Homer* speaks of *Patroclus* as laid out in the same manner (a),

—— ἐνὶ κλισίῃ δεδαίγμενος ὅξει χαλκῷ
Κεῖται ἀνὰ πρὸς θύρην τετραμμένος.——

Slain at the Entrance of the Tent he lies.

Where we are told by the *Scholiast*, that by this Ceremony they signify'd, that they were never to return after their being carry'd out. Whilst the Body lay in this Place, 'twas customary to give it constant Attendance, to defend it from any Violence, or Affront, that might be offer'd: Whence *Achilles* adds in the fore-cited Place,

—— ἀμφὶ δ' ἑτάροι
Μύρονται.——

Round the dead Corpse his sad Companions mourn.

And a little before we find him so passionately concern'd lest Flies and Vennine should pollute the Corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the Battel, 'till *Thetis* had promis'd to guard it (b). When any Person dy'd in Debt at *Athens*, there was something more to be fear'd, for the Laws of that City gave leave to Creditors to seize the dead Body, and deprive it of Burial 'till Payment was made; wherefore the Corpse of *Miltiades*, who deceas'd in Prison, being like to want the Honour of Burial, his Son *Cimon* had no other means to release it, but by taking upon himself his Father's Debt and Fetters.

Some Time before Interment, a Piece of Money was put into the Corps's Mouth, which was thought to be *Charon's* Fare for wafting the departed Soul over the Infernal River: This was by some term'd *καρκήδοντα* (c), by others *δανάη* (d), *δανάκη*, or *δανάκης*, from *δάνος*, a Price; or because it was given τοῖς *δανούις*, to dead Men so call'd from *δανὰ*, or dry Sticks (e): It was only a single *ὀβολός*; *Aristophanes* indeed introduces *Hercules* telling *Bacchus* he must pay two *oboli* (f),

Εν πλοισίῳ πυννατοῖ σ' ἀνὴρ γέρον
Ναύτης ἀλᾶξει, δὴ ὀβολῶ μισθὸν λαβών.

Th' old Ferry-man of Hell will waft you o'er
In his small Skiff for poor two *oboli*.

(a) *Iliad*. τ'. v. 211. (b) *Ibid*. v. 23. (c) *Suidas*. (d) *Heſychius*. (e) *Ety-mologici* Αὐτορ. (f) *Ranin* p. 217. Edit. *Aurel. Allob.*

But the Comedian seems to speak this only by way of jeer to the Judges in some of the *Athenian* Courts, who were presented with two *oboli* at the End of their Session; whence *Bacchus* presently subjoyns,

Φεῖ, ὡς μέγα δυνάειον πανταχῶς δὲ ἔσολά.

I find two *oboli* can much prevail
In either World.——

Meursius therefore, interpreting this Place of the common Custom towards the Dead, and adding out of the *Scholiast* that the Price was afterwards rais'd to three *oboli*, seems not to have div'd into the Author's Meaning; for nothing can be more plain, than that the *Scholiast* is to be understood of the *δραγματικὸς μισθός*, or Reward allow'd the Judges, which was two *oboli*, and afterwards increas'd to three. This Ceremony was not us'd in those Places, which they phansy'd situate in the Vicinity of the Infernal Regions, and to lead thither by a ready and direct Road (a); *Strabo* particularly mentions that the *Hermionians* pleaded Exemption (b).

Beside this, the Corps's Mouth was furnish'd with a certain Cake, compos'd of Flower, Honey, &c. and therefore call'd *μαλιπῆτα* (c). This was design'd to appease the Fury of *Cerberus* the Infernal Door-keeper, and to procure of him a safe and quiet Entrance; we have an Allusion to this in the *Comedian* (d),

——— σφεδὸν ἀνήσει,
Μελιπῆταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάξω.

A Coffin he shall buy, and I'll prepare
A Cake for *Cerberus*.——

Virgil has oblig'd us with a larger Account of this Custom, when he describes the *Sibyl* and *Aeneas's* Journey to the Infernal Shades (e);

Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro :
Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporata & medicatis frugibus ossam
Objicit; ille, fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro :

(a) *Etymologicæ* Auctor v. *δυνάειος*. (b) *Geogr. lib. VIII.* (c) *Suidas, &c.*
(d) *Lysistratæ*. (e) *Æneid. VI. v. 417.*

*Occupat Aeneas aditum, custode sepulcro,
Evaditque celer ripam irremeabilis undae.*

————— In his Den they found
The triple Porter of the *Stygian* Sound,
Grim *Cerberus*, who soon began to rear
His crested Snakes, and arm'd his bristling Hair;
The prudent *Sibyl* had before prepar'd
A Sop in Honey steep'd to charm the Guard,
Which, mix'd with pow'rful Drugs, she cast before
His greedy grinning Jaws, just op'd to roar;
With three enormous Mouths he gapes; and strait,
With Hunger prest, devours the pleasing Bait;
Long Draughts of Sleep his monstrous Limbs enslave,
He reels, and falling fills the spacious Cave:
The Keeper charm'd, the Chief without Delay
Pass'd on, and took th' irremeable Way.

Mr. Dryden.

Before we conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd that the whole Ceremony of laying out, and cloathing the Dead, and sometimes the Interment it self, was call'd *συγκομιδή* (a): In the same Sence ancient Writers use *συγκομίζειν*, with it's Derivatives; thus *Sophocles* (b),

Οὗτος, σὲ φωνῶ τὸνδε τ' νεκρὸν χεεῖν
Μὴ συγκομίζειν, ἀλλ' ἔστω ὅπως ἔχει.

Do not presume th' accursed Corpse t' interr,
But let it lie expos'd to open View.

It may farther be observ'd, that during this Time the Hair of the deceas'd Person was hung upon the Door, to signify the Family was in Mourning: And, 'till the House was deliver'd of the Corpse, there stood before the Door a Vessel of Water call'd *ἄρδανιον* (c), *ἄρδανία*, *ῥάσρα* (d), and, from the Matter it was frequently made of, *ῥάρακον*, as in *Aristophanes* (e),

Ταυτὸς τε κατὰδε ῥάρακον παρ' τ' θύρας.

An earthen Vessel full of Water place
Before the Door.—————

(a) *Aeschylus Scholiasles*. (b) *Ajac.* v. 1067. (c) *Suidas*, *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap VII. (d) *Hesychius*. (e) *Εκκλησιαζύσας*.

Part of a *Chorus* in *Æuripides*, seeing neither of these *Sigus*, could scarce be induc'd to believe *Alceſtis* dead (a);

Πυλῶν πάροιθεν δ' ἔχ' ὄρῳ
Πηγεῖον, ὡς νομίζεται
Γε, χέριν' ὅπ' φθιτῆς πύλαις·
Χαίτα τ' ἔπις ὅπ' ἀνέσθουρα τομαῖ-
ος, ἃ δὲ νεκρῶν πένθεσι πτνεί.

I see no purifying Water plac'd
Before the Doors, a Custom us'd of old;
Nor Lock of Hair is in the Entrance fix'd
To shew the House in Mourning.—

Mr. Hwchin.

The Design of this was, that such as had been concern'd about the Corpse, might purify themselves by washing, which was call'd λούσαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ: For not the *Jew* only (b), but the greatest Part of the Heathen World thought themselves polluted by the Contact of a dead Body, Death being contrary to Nature, and therefore abhorr'd by every Thing endu'd with Life. Hence the Celestial Gods, those especially who were thought to give, or preserve Light or Life, would not endure the Sight of a Corpse, *Diana* in *Æuripides* professes it unlawfull for her to see *Hippolytus* her Favourite when dead;

Καὶ χαῖρ', ἐμοὶ γ' ἔ δέμης φθιτὸς ὄρῳ,
Οὐδ' ὄμμα χαίρειν θνατόμοισιν ἐκπροαῖς.

Farewell, for 'twere in me a finfull Act
To view the Dead, or to defile mine Eyes
With the sad Sight of an expiring Soul.

Nor was the House, where the Corpse lay, free from Pollution, as appears from the Words of *Helena* in *Æuripides* (c),

Καθαρὰ γ' ἡμῶν δώματ', ἔ γ' ἐνθάδε
Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλαιος.—

For sacred are our Houses, not defil'd
By th' Death of *Menelaus*.—

(a) *Alceſtis*, 99. (b) *Numer.* cap. XIX. 11. *Ecclesi.* cap. XXXIV, 25. (c) *Helena* v. 1446.

Whence 'twas customary to have it purify'd, as soon as the Funeral Solemnities were over; of which Ceremony I shall have occasion to discourse in one of the following Chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

Of their Funeral Processions.

THE next Thing to be observ'd is their *Carrying* the Corpse forth, which is in *Greek* term'd ἐκκομὴν, and ἐκφορά, in *Latin* *elatio*, or *exportatio*; whence the *Latin* *esserre*, *exportare*, and the *Greek* ἐκφέρειν, and ἐκκομίζειν are Words appropriated to Funerals: *Kirchman* would have ἐξακομίζειν to be us'd in the same Sence; but the Place he produces out of *Eunapius* (a) to that purpose, seems rather to denote the *Prætervection* of the Body by some Place, than it's *Elation* from the House wherein it was prepar'd for Burial; for ἐξακομίζειν is usually spoken with respect to a Place in the middle Way of any Motion; ἐισκομίζειν belongs to the End, or Place where the Motion ceases; but ἐκκομίζειν, or ἐκφέρειν are only proper, when we speak of the Place, whence the Motion begins, being the same with ἐξω φέρειν, carrying forth, which Words are taken by *Theocritus* in the Sence I have been speaking of (b);

Ἀῶθεν δ' ἄμμες νιν ἄμα δρόσω ἀνδρῶν ἐξω
Οἰσῶμες ποτὶ κόματ' ἐπ' εἰνὶ πείοντι.

I'th' Morn, when pearly Dew has overspread
The bending Grass, we will bring forth our Dead
Down to the River's Side.—

Plantus likewise for *esserre* hath *foras ferre* (c),

Quæ cras veniat perendie foras feratur soror.

To morrow's Sun shall see my Sister carry'd forth.

The Time of Burial seems not to have been limited: The Author of the *Geniales dies* (d) tells us, that Bodies were usually kept

(a) *Jambliche*. (b) *Idyll*. XV. 132. (c) *Asulularia*. (d) *Lib*. III. cap. VII.

seventeen Days, and seventeen Nights before they were interr'd; which he seems to have out of *Homer*, who reports that *Achilles's* Body after seventeen Days and as many Nights of Mourning was committed to the Flames (a),

Επτακαίδεκα μὲν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας
Κλαίόμεν ἀθάνατοὶ τε θεοὶ, θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρώποι,
Οὐκ ἔσχατον δὲ ἔδομεν πυρὶ. ———

Seventeen long Days were in sad Mourning spent
As many Nights did Gods and Men lament,
But on the eighteenth lay'd you on the Pile.

Servius was of opinion that the Time of burning Bodies was the eighth Day after Death, the Time of burying the ninth (b); but this must only be understood of the Funerals of great Persons, which could not be duly solemniz'd without extraordinary Preparations; Men of inferior Rank were committed to the Ground without so much Noise and Pomp: The ancient Burials seem to have been upon the third, or fourth Day after Death; thus the Author of the *Argonauticks* (c);

At vero ornantes supremo funus honore,
Tres rotos condunt lugubri murmure soles,
Magnifice tumultant quarto. ———

With three Days Mourning they the Fun'ral grac'd,
(The last good Office due to the Deceas'd)
But on the fourth, they o'er his Body rear'd
A stately Tomb. ———

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Nor was it unusual to perform the Solemnities, especially of poor Persons, upon the Day after their Death; which appears from an Epigram of *Callimachus*;

Δαίμονα τίς δὲ εὖ οἶδε τ' αὔριον ; ἡνίκα καὶ σε,
Χάρμιν, τ' ὀφθαλμοῖς χρίζον ἐν ἡμετέροις,
Τῇ ἑτέρῃ κλαύσαντες ἐδάπνομεν. ———

Who knows what Fortunes on to morrow wait,
Since *Charmis* one Day well to us appear'd,
And on the next was mournfully interr'd?

(a) *Odysf.* α'. v. 63. (b) *Aeneid.* V. (c) *Lib.* II.

Pherecydes alludes to this Custom in his Epistle to *Thales* preserv'd by *Laertius* (a), telling him he expected every Minute to breath his last, and had invited his Friends to his Funeral the Day following.

The Ceremony was perform'd in the Day; for Night was look'd on as a very improper Time; because then Furies and evil Spirits, which could not endure the Light, ventur'd abroad: Hence *Cassandra* in a Quarrel with *Talthybius* foretells, as one of the greatest Mischiefs that could befall him, that it should be his Fortune to be bury'd in the Night (b);

Ἡ κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ νυκτὸς, ἔκ ἐν ἡμέρῃ.

An evil Fate attends thy Obsequies,
Thy Fun'ral Rites shall be perform'd at Night.

Young Men only, that dy'd in the Flower of their Age, were bury'd in the morning Twilight; for so dreadfull a Calamity was this accounted, that they thought it undecent, if not impious, to reveal it in the Face of the Sun: Whence (as the Expounders of Fables tell us) came the Stories of Youths stol'n into *Aurora's* Embraces; for when beauteous and hopefull young Men suffer'd an untimely Death, it was customary to alleviate the Disaster by giving it a more pleasant and agreeable Name; hence instead of calling their Departure *Death*, they term'd it *ἡμέρας ἀπαγωγή* (c). Because these Funerals were celebrated by Torch-light, it became customary to carry Torches at all other Burials, tho' perform'd in the Day; whence came that proverbial Speech, whereby old Men are said to approach *ἐπὶ τῷ δ᾽ ἄδῃ τῷ βίῳ*, to the Torch of their Life (d). The *Athenians* went counter to the rest of the *Grecians*, for their Laws enjoyn'd them to celebrate their Funerals before Sun-rise: Which Command *Cicero* (e) will have to be no *ancient* than *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*; but *Demosthenes* makes *Solon* the Author thereof (f); 'tis not improbable, that it might be first instituted by *Solon*, and afterwards reviv'd by *Demetrius*: The Design seems to have been to moderate the expensive Extravagance in Funerals, which a more open and publick Celebration seem'd to require.

The Bearers usually mounted the Corpse upon their Shoulders, which *Euripides* calls *ἀρδνω φέρειν*, speaking of *Alceſtis* (g),

προσώλοι

Φέρουσιν ἀρδνω πρὸς τάροντε, καὶ πυράν.

(a) Vita *Pherecydis* sub fin. (b) *Euripid. Troad.* v. 446. (c) *Heraclides Ponticus* de Allegor. *Homer.* sub. fin. *Eustathius.* (d) *Plutarchus* lib. An ſeni capess. fit Resp. (e) *De Leg.* lib II. (f) *Orat. in Macartium.* (g) *Alceſt.* v. 607.

The Servants to the Grave the Corpse do bear
Upon their Shoulders.—

The Body was sometimes plac'd upon a Bier, instead of which the *Lacedemonians* commonly us'd their Bucklers; whence that remarkable Command of one of their Matrons to her Son, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ὄπισθ' ἑλθόντα, i. e. either bring this (pointing to his Buckler) back, or be brought upon it. Nor was this Custom unknown in other Places; *Virgil* hath mention'd it in his tenth *Aeneid* (a);

———*Socii multo gemitu lacrymisque*
Impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.

In dolefull Complaints his dear Companions mourn
Their dead Friend *Pallas* on his Target born.

But the most ancient *Grecians* seem to have convey'd their dead Bodies to their Funerals without any Support; whence (as *Eu-
stathius* observes) *Patroclus* being carry'd forth by the *Myrmidons*, *A-
chilles* went behind to support his Head (b);

———ἔπειθεν δὲ χερσὶν ἔχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

Behind *Achilles* did bear up his Head.

This seems to be the Meaning of *Euripides's* φοράδῳ πέμπειν, when, speaking of *Rhesus's* Funeral, he introduces the *Chorus* uttering these Words (c),

Τὶς ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς θεός, ὃ βασιλεῦ,
Τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χερσὶν
Φοράδῳ πέμπει; ———

What God, O King, mov'd with becoming Care,
Shall with his Hand behind support thy Head.

The Persons present at Funerals were the dead Man's Friends and Relations, who thought themselves under an Obligation to pay this last Respect to their Deceas'd Friend. Beside these, others were frequently invited to encrease the Solemnity, where the Laws restrain'd them not from it; which they did at some Places, either to prevent the Disorders which often happen'd at such promiscuous Meetings, or to mitigate the excessive Charges of Funerals: Thus we find, that *Pittacus* establish'd a Law at *Mitylene*, that none but

(a) V. 506. (b) *Iliad*. ψ'. (c) *Rheso* v. 886.

Relations of the Deceas'd should appear at Funerals; *Solon* also lay'd some restraint upon his *Athenians*, wholly excluding all Women under threescore Years of Age from these Solemnities; yet Relations were admitted whilst under that Age, as appears from *Lysias's* Oration in defence of *Eratosthenes*, who had murder'd his Wife's Gallant, whose first Acquaintance with her, he tells us, proceeded from seeing her at a Funeral; yet they seem not to have gone promiscuously among the Men, but in a Body by themselves; as may be collected from these Words in *Terence's Andria*;

*Effertur, imus: interea inter mulieres,
Quæ ibi aderant, forte unam adspicio adolescentulam.*

The Corpse is carry'd forward, and we follow,
But 'mongst the Women 'twas my chance to see
A beautifull young Creature.——

The Habit of these Persons was not always the same; for, tho' they might sometimes put on Mourning; and in common Funerals as frequently retain'd their ordinary Apparel; yet the Exequies of great Men were commonly celebrated with Expressions of Joy for their Reception into Heaven. Thus *Timolcon's* Herse was follow'd by many thousands of Men and Women in white Garments, and bedeck'd with Garlands, as in festival Solemnities (a); *Aratus's* Funeral was likewise celebrated with *Pæans*, or Songs of Triumph, and Dances (b).

When the Body was convey'd out of the House, they took their last farewell, saluting it in a certain Form of Words; as appears from *Admetus's* Speech to the *Phereans* present at the Funeral of his Wife (c);

*Τιμὶς ὃ τ' ἀνέσταν, ὡς νομίζεται,
Πεγρέηναι' ἐξίσταν ὑσάπλω ὀδόν.*

Do you, since ancient Custom so requires,
Salute the Corpse, and take your last farewell.

The Procession was commonly made on Horse-back, or in Coaches; but at the Funerals of Persons, to whom a more than ordinary Reverence was thought due, all went on foot: Which Respect the *Athenians* pay'd to the Memory of *Theophrastus*, as an Acknowledgment of his excellent Virtues (d). The Relations went next the Corpse, the rest walk'd some distance off: Sometimes the Men went before it with their Heads uncover'd, the Women

(a) *Plutarchus Timolconste.* (b) *Idem Arato.* (c) *Euripid. Alceft. v. 608.*
(d) *Diogenes Laertius Theophrasto.*

following it. *Patroclus* was carry'd to his Funeral, surrounded by the Grecian Souldiers,

Πρόδε μὲ ἱππῆες, μὲν δὲ νέφος εἶπετο πτερόν
Μυετοί, ἐν δὲ μέσσοις φέρον Πάτροκλον ἐπὶ ᾧ (a).

The sad Procession was by Horsemen led,
The thronging Foot-men in the Rear succeed,
And in the Midst his Friends *Patroclus* bear.

But the ordinary way was for the Body to go first, and the rest to follow; which appears as from many other Instances, so from that of *Terence* (b),

—————*Funus interim*
Procedit, sequimur.—————

The Fun'ral marches first, we follow it.

Whereby the Survivors were put in mind of their Mortality, and bid to remember they were all following in the Way the dead Person was gone before (c). At the Funerals of Souldiers, their Fellow-souldiers attended with their Spears pointed towards the Ground, and the uppermost Part of their Bucklers turn'd downwards, as has been formerly observ'd (d). This was not done so much (as some phant) because the Gods were carry'd upon their Bucklers, whose Faces would have been polluted by the Sight of a dead Body, as that they might recede from their common Custom; the Method of Mourning being to act quite contrary to what was usual at other Times: wherefore not only their Bucklers were inverted, but their Spears, and the rest of their Weapons. Nor was this only a Martial Custom, but practis'd likewise in Peace; for at the Funerals of Magistrates, their Emblems of Honour were inverted, as appears from the Poet (e);

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali.*

The *Fasces* first I at a Fun'ral saw
With Heads turn'd downwards, the sad Badge of Woe.

To perform this Ceremony they term'd ἐκπέμπειν, ἀπαπέμπειν, and ἀντιπέμπειν; the first with respect to the House, out of which the Body was carry'd forth; the second with respect to the Places,

(a) *Homer. Iliad. V.* (b) *Andria.* (c) *Donatus in locum Terentii, Alexand. ab Alex. lib. III. cap. VIII.* (d) *Lib. III. cap. XI.* (e) *Fedo Albino-van. Eleg. ad Liviam.*

by which it pass'd ; and the last to the Place, whither it was convey'd.

CHAPTER V.

Of their Mourning for the Dead.

THE Ceremonies, by which they us'd to express their Sorrow upon the Death of Friends, and on other occasions, were various and uncertain : But it seems to have been a constant Rule amongst them, to recede as much as possible in Habit, and all their Behaviour, from their ordinary Customs ; whereby they thought it appear'd, that some extraordinary Calamity had befall'n them, nothing else being able to effect so great a Change. Hence it is, that Mourners in some Cities demean'd themselves in the very same manner with Persons that in other Places design'd to express Joy : For, the Customs of one City being contrary to those of another, it sometimes happen'd that what in one Place pass'd for an Expression of Mirth, was in others a Token of Sorrow. The most ordinary ways of expressing Sorrow were these that follow.

1. They abstain'd from Banquets and Entertainments, and banish'd from their Houses all musical Instruments, and whatever was proper to excite Pleasure, or bore an Air of Mirth and Gayety. Thus *Admetus* in *Euripides* upon the Death of *Alcestis* (a) ;

Παύσω δὲ κάμους, συμποτῶν δ' ὀμιλίας,
Στεφάνους τε, μῦθον δ' ἢ κατ' ἔχ' ὅπιν δῆμος.

No more to pleasing Banquets will I run,
All Conversation with my Friends I'll shun ;
No more my Brow shall fragrant Chaplets wear,
But all the Marks of Joy shall disappear ;
No more I'll Musick hear too weak to save
My dear *Alcestis* from the conqu'ring Grave.

Mr. Hutchin.

They frequented no publick Solemnities, nor appear'd in Places of Concourse ; but sequestred themselves from Company, and refrain'd even from the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life. Wine was too great a Friend to Cheerfulness to gain Admission into so melancholy Society ; the Light it self was odious, and nothing courted but dark Shades, and lonesome Retirements, which

(a) *Alcest.* v. 343.

they thought bore some resemblance to their Misfortunes (a): Whence *Artemidorus* lays it down as a certain Fore-runner of Death, for any one to dream of a Fire's being extinguish'd, during the Sickness of any in the same Family (b).

2. They divested themselves of all Ornaments, and lay'd aside their Jewels, Gold, and whatever was rich and precious in their Apparell. Thus *Lycophron* describes the Women that mourn'd for *Achilles's Death* (c);

Γυναῖξί δ' ἔσται τεθμὸς ἐν χόροις αἰεὶ
Πενθεῖν ἢ εἰνάπηχυν, Αἰακὸς τέττον,
Καὶ Δωείδης, πενήστρα δαΐα μάχης.
Καὶ μήτε χρυσῷ παῖδρά καλλυῖεν ἔεδν,
Μῆδ' ἀβροπλῦς ὀμβριβάλλεσθαι πέπλος
Κάλχη φορυκτῆς. —

This to the Women shall a Custom be
To mourn *Achilles* third from *Æacus*,
Grandchild to *Doris*, and of largest Size;
To mourn *Achilles* frightfull in the War,
Not cloth'd with rich Attire of Gems and Gold,
With glitt'ring Silks or Purple. —

This Custom is frequently mention'd in the Poets, but was not peculiar to Mourners for the Dead; being likewise, with several other Ceremonies noted in this Chapter, practis'd by all that lamented for any great Calamity: Whence *Hecuba* had no sooner heard the Fortune assign'd to her self and *Cassandra*, when she cry'd out,

——— ῥίπτῃ, τέκνον, ζαΐδης
Κληῖδας, καὶ πρὸ χειρὸς ἐν-
δύτων σεβέων ἱερὸς σολμός (d).

Throw off these rich, these consecrated Robes,
And hallow'd Crowns. —

Their mourning Garments were always black, whence *Progne*, having notice of *Philomela's Death*, is thus describ'd by *Ovid* (e);

——— *velamina Progne*
Diripit ex humeris auro fulgentia luto,
Induiturque atras vestes. —

(a) Gloss, vet. *Plutarchus* Consolar. ad uxorem. (b) Lib II. cap. IX.
(c) *Cassandr.* v. 859. nostrumque ibi *Commentarium* consule. (d) *Euripid.* *Troad.* v. 256. (e) *Metam.* VI. Fab. VIII.

From off her back th' embroider'd Robes she tears,
And *Progne* now in mournfull Blacks appears.

Thus likewise *Athæa*, when her Brethren were slain by *Meleager* (a);

—plangore dato mœstis ululatibus urbem
Implet, & auratas mutavit vestibus aris.

She fills with pit'ous Plaints the spacious Town,
And 'stead of glitt'ring Robes puts Sable on.

To which Custom *Pericles* had respect, when he boasted, "That he had never given any Citizen cause to put on Black (b)". Hence *Antemidorus* will have it to be a Pretage of Recovery for a sick Person to dream of black Cloaths, since not those that dye, but those, who survive to mourn, were apparell'd in Black (c). The *Egyptians* are reported by *Servius* to have introduc'd this Custom, when they mourn'd for the Death of *Liber*, otherwise call'd *Osiris*, who was treacherously circumvented and murder'd by his Brother *Typho*. Farther, Mourning Garments differ'd not from their ordinary Apparel in Colour only, but likewise in Value, as being of cheap and coarse Stuff; which may be observ'd from this Example of *Terence* (d), amongst many others;

*Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anni causa, opinor, que erat mortua,*

We found her busie at the Loom, attir'd
In a cheap Mourning Habit, which she wore
For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose,

3 They tore, cut off, and sometimes shav'd their Hair; nor was it sufficient to deprive themselves of a Part only, for we find *Electra* in *Euripides* finding fault with *Helena* for sparing her Locks, and thereby defrauding the Dead (e): This Custom is too well known to need any Confirmation by Examples. They had several ways of disposing of their Hair: It was sometimes thrown upon the dead Body; as we learn from *Patroclus's* Funeral, where the *Grecians*, to shew their Affection and Respect to him, cover'd his Body with their Hair (f);

(a) *Metam.* VIII. fab IV. (b) *Plutarchus* πρὸς τὴν εὐφροσύνην ἀντιπρὸς-
τος (c) *Lib* III cap. III. (d) *Heautontimor.* Act. II. Sc. III. (e) *Orest.* 128.
(f) *Iliad.* V. v. 135.

Θεξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν καταείνουν, ὡς ἐπέβαλλον
Κειμήλοι.

They shav'd their Heads, and cover'd with their Hair
The Body.—

Statius hath likewise observ'd the same Practice (a);

—tergoque ex pectore fusam
Cesariem ferro minuit, sectisque jacentis
Obnubui tenuia ora comis.—

He cut off all the Hair that from the Head
Down to the Back and Breast was comely spread,
And cover'd with it the dead Face.—

It was likewise frequent to cast it into the Funeral Pile, to be
consum'd with the Body of their Friend; as *Achilles* appears to
have done at *Patroclus's* Funeral (b);

Στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρετο χαίτην,
Τὴν δὲ Σπερχεῖν ποταμῶν τέρεθρ' ἀπὸ πύλων.

Standing hard by the Pile the comely Hair,
Which for *Sperchius* was before preserv'd,
He now cut off, and cast into the Flames.

Sometimes it was lay'd upon the Grave; as we find in *Æschylus* (c);

Ὅρῳ περὶ τὸνδε βόσρυχον τάφον.

I see this Hair upon the Grave.

Canace in *Ovid* bewails her Misfortune, because she was debarr'd
from performing this Ceremony to her beloved *Macareus*,

Non mihi te licuit lacrymis perfundere iustis,
In tua non tonsas ferre sepulcra comas.

'Twas not permitted me with briny Tears
To bath thy lifeless Corpse, or bring my Hairs
Unto thy Sepulchre.—

Some restrain this Practice to Sons, or very near Relations; but
it appears by many Instances to have been common to all that

(a) *Thebaid.* VI. (b) *Iliad.* ♀. (c) *Χοηφόρος.*

thought themselves oblig'd to express their Respect, or Love to the Dead; insomuch that upon the Death of great Men, whole Cities and Countries were commonly shav'd.

This Practice may be accounted for two ways; for the *Scho-liast* upon *Sophocles* observes, that it was us'd, partly to render the Ghost of the deceas'd Person propitious, which seems to be the Reason why they threw Hair into the Fire to burn with him, or lay'd it on his Body; partly, that they might appear disfigur'd, and careless of their Beauty; for long Hair was look'd on as very becoming, and the *Greeks* prided themselves in it, whence they are so frequently honour'd by *Homer* with the Epithet of *χερροκόμους*.

It may be farther observ'd that in solemn and publick Mourning, it was common to extend this Practice to their Beasts, that all Things might appear as deform'd and ugly as might be. Thus *Admetus* upon the Death of *Alceſtis* commands his Chariot-horses to be shorn (a);

Τέθριππά τε ζεύγυνδε, καὶ μονάμπυκας
Πώλως σιδήρῳ τέμνεται ἀνέγων φέβω.

My Chariot-horses too my Grief shall share,
Let them be shorn, cut off their comely Mains.

Thus likewise the *Thessalians* cut off their own Hair, and their Horses Mains at the Death of *Pelopidas* (b); when *Masistius* was slain in a Skirmish with the *Athenians*, the *Persians* shav'd themselves, their Horses, and their Mules (c): But *Alexander*, as in the rest of his Actions, so herein went beyond the rest of Mankind; for at the Death of *Hephestion*, he did not only cut off the Mains of his Horses and Mules, but took down the Battlements from the City-walls, that even Towns might seem Mourners, and instead of their former beauteous Appearance look bald at the Funeral (d).

It may be objected indeed to what I have been speaking, that Shaving was a Sign of Joy; whereas to let their Hair grow long was the Practice of Persons in Affliction: Hence *Joseph* is said to have been shav'd, when he was deliver'd out of Prison; and *Mephiboseth*, during the Time King *David* was banish'd from *Jerusalem*, let his Hair grow, but on his Return shav'd himself: Thus likewise Mariners upon their Deliverance from Shipwrack us'd to shave themselves: To which Practice *Juvenal* hath this Allusion (c);

gaudent ibi vertice raso
Garrula securi narrare pericula naute.

And there shorn Saylor's boast what they endur'd.

(a) Euripides *Alceſtide* v. 428. (b) Plutarchus *Pelopida*, (c) Idem *Aristide*.
(d) Idem *Pelopida*. (e) Sat. XII. v. 82.

Whence *Artemidorus* will have Mariners, that dream of having their whole Heads shav'd, to be forewarn'd by the Gods, they are to undergo very great Hazards, but to escape with Life (a); *Pliny* also in one of his Epistles interprets his Dream of cutting off his Hair, to be a Token of his Deliverance from some eminent Danger; and the Poets furnish us with several Examples to our purpose: *Lycophron* for instance thus describes a general Lamentation (b);

πᾶς ὃ λυγαῖαν λεῶς
 Εἰδήτα πρὸς τρέπαιον ἐγχαλινέμενος,
 Αὐχμῶ πινώδης λυπρὸν ἀμφοτέρωσι βίον.
 Κρατὶς δ' ἄνεργς νῶτα καλλυνεῖ φέβη,
 Μνήμην παλαιῶν τιμῶν δ' ὀδυρμάτων.

In mournfull Blacks shall ev'ry Soul appear,
 Each shall with loathsome Dirt his Face besmear;
 Neglected Hair shall now luxuriant grow,
 And by it's Length their bitter Passion shew;
 Incessantly they shall their Loss complain,
 And all their Life be one sad, mournfull Scene;
 Thus they the never-dying Names shall save
 Of ancient Patriots from the conquer'd Grave.

Mr. Hemchins.

Plutarch, undertaking to resolve this Difficulty, reports that the Men let their Hair grow, but the Women were shav'd; it being the Fashion for Men to wear their Hair short at other Times, and for Women to suffer theirs to grow (c): But on the contrary it plainly appears from the Instances already produc'd, and many others, that the Men frequently wore long Hair, which they cut off upon any great Calamity; nor can it be doubted that the Women frequently wore long Hair in Sorrow, since 'tis remark'd as a Badge of a Woman in Mourning, that she has her Hair dishevell'd, and carelessly flowing about: Thus *Ariadne* bespeaks *Theseus*;

Aspicem demissos lugentis more capillos,
 Et tunicas lacrymis sicut ab imbre graves.

See, like a Mourner's, my dishevell'd Hair,
 Wet, as with Rain, with Tears my Robes appear.

Terence likewise, the Scene of whose Fable is lay'd in Greece, has thus describ'd a Woman in Mourning (d);

(a) Lib. I. cap. XXIII. (b) *Cassandr.* v. 973. (c) *Romanus Quæst.* (d) *Heautontimorumenos.* Act. II. Sc. III.

*Textentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus annus causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua,
Sine auro tum ornatam, ita uti quæ ornantur sibi,
Nulla mala re esse expoliâ muliebri,
Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Reiectus negligenter.*——

We found her at the painfull Loom employ'd,
Drest in a Mourning Habit, which she wore
For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose:
She was not trick'd up in a gawdy Suit,
Nor drest in Robes of Velvet, or of Gold,
Nor patch'd or painted to attract the Eyes
Of her Gallants, but with dishevell'd Hair
Carelessly o'er her Shoulders thrown.——

Wherefore two Things may be observ'd for the solution of this Difficulty:

First, the manner of being shav'd: For tho' to be shav'd, or trimm'd by Barbers, was a Token of Cheerfulness; yet those that cut off their own Hair, and that in a negligent and careless manner, were look'd on as Mourners: Whence, tho' *Artemidorus* reports, that no Man under the Pressure of Misfortunes was ever shav'd (a); yet he adds in the same Chapter, that for a Man to dream of shaving him'self was a Prefage of some great Calamity; because Men in such Circumstances were wont to be shav'd.

Secondly, the different Fashions of several Nations are to be consider'd: For where it was customary to wear short Hair, there the Length of Hair was a Token of Mourning; but where long Hair was in Fashion, there Mourners shav'd themselves. 'Tis reported by *Herodotus* (b) and others (c), that the *Argians*, having lost *Thyrea* to the *Spartans*, made a Decree that their whole City should cut their Hair, and never permit it to grow again to it's accustomed Length, 'till they recover'd that Place; the *Spartans*, on the contrary, using to wear their Hair short, put forth a Decree, that from that Time they should nourish their Hair, in reproach to their Enemies. Now in these Cities, when the Fashion was to wear short Hair, then Mourners were distinguish'd by long Hair; but long Hair coming into Fashion, Mourners were shav'd.

4. 'Twas frequent for Persons overwhelm'd with Grief, and unable to bear up under it, to throw themselves upon the Earth, and roll in the Dust; and the more dirty the Ground was, the

(a) Lib I cap. XXIII. (b) Lib. I cap. LXXXII. (c) *Plutarchus Lysandro*, *Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. V. &c.*

better it serv'd to defile them, and to express their Sorrow and Dejection. Thus Oeneus behaves himself upon the Death of his Son Meleager (a);

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles
Fadat humi fufos, spatiosumque increpat ævum.*

His hoary Head, and furrow'd Cheeks besmears
With noisom Dirt, and chides the tedious Years.

Priam in Homer represents his lamenting of Hector in the same Posture (b);

Ὅδ' ἄρ' πω μύσαν ὅσπερ ὑπὸ βλεφάρῃσιν ἐμοῖσιν,
Εξ ἧ σῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἐμὸς πάϊς ὤλισσε θυμὸν
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σενάχω, καὶ κήδεα μυεῖα πέσσω,
Ἀλλῆς ἐν χόρτοισι κυλινδρῆμος καὶ κόπρον.

Soft Sleep has never clos'd these watchfull Eyes
Since my dear Son became your fatal Prize;
But Day and Night I mourn my wretched Fate,
And on my countless Suff'rings ruminate,
Welt'ring in ev'ry filthy Place.

Mr. Hutchin.

5. They cover'd their Heads with Ashes. Thus Achilles upon the News of Patroclus's Death (c),

Ἀμφοτέρῃσι δ' χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόριν αἰδαλόεσσαν,
Χεῖρατο κακκοφαλῆς.

Then taking Ashes up with both his Hands
He threw them on his Head.

These Customs were likewise practis'd in the Eastern Countries, whence we find so frequent mention of Penitents lying upon the Ground, and putting on Sackcloth and Ashes.

6. When any Occasion requir'd their Attendance abroad, their Heads were muffled up; as appears from these Verses in the Epigram (d);

_____ φαῖρος γὰρ ὀππρὶμὲς ἀμφὶ πρὸς ὤματα
Πήματα γὰρ δεικνυσιν.

Her Face wrapt in a Veil declar'd her Woes.

(a) Ovid. Metam. lib. VIII. v. 528. (b) Iliad. ω'. v. 637. (c) Iliad. σ'. v. 23. (d) Antholog. lib. V. c. XXXIII.

Whence *Orestes*, when he perswades *Electra* to leave off Mourning, bids her be unveil'd,

— ἀνακάλυπ', ὦ κασγνήτων χέρα,
Εκ δακρύων τ' ἀπειλῶ. —

Pull off your Veil, dear Sister, and forbear
This Grief. —

Nor was this the Fashion of Women only; for *Adrastus* came to *Thajews* after his Loss at *Thebes* κατήης χλανιδίῳς, wherefore *Thajews* speaks thus to him (a);

Λέγ', ἐκχάλυψε κράτα, πάρες γόον.

Speak out, unfold your Head, refrain from Tears.

Thus likewise *Haman*, upon the Defeat of his Plot against *Mordecai*, is said to have hasted to his House mourning, and having his Head cover'd (b); and the Jews are represented by *Jeremy* as being *asham'd*, and confounded, and covering their Heads, in the Time of a grievous Famine (c).

7. Another Token of Dejection was to lean their Heads upon their Hands. Whence *Helen* speaks thus of the calamitous *Trojans* (d),

Ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκαν.

They with their Hands support their drooping Head.

8. They went softly, to express their Faintness, and Loss of Strength and Spirits. Thus *Ahab* King of *Israel*, being terrify'd by the Judgment *Elias* denounc'd against him, fasted, and lay in Sackcloth, and went softly (e); and *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, being told by the Prophet, that he was never to recover of a Distemper he then lay under, amongst other Expressions of Sorrow hath this, *I shall go softly all my Tears in the Bitterness of my Soul* (f).

9. They beat their Breasts and Thighs, and tore their Flesh, making Furrows in their Faces with their Nails; which Actions, tho' practis'd sometimes by Men, were more frequent among Women, whose Passions are more violent and ungovernable. Thus *Nonnus* represents them (g),

(a) Euripid. Supplic. 110. (b) Esther. cap. VI, 12. (c) Cap. XIV, 3, 4.
(d) Euripid. Helen. 377. (e) I. Reg. XXI, 27. (f) Isaiah cap. XXXVIII, 15.
(g) Dionys. lib. IX, 18.

—— φιλοθρήνων ὃ γυναικῶν
Σπυγνὸς ἐρευνήσασαν ὄνυξ ἄμυσσε παρειῶ,
Καὶ ῥοδέοις ἐκόρυσσαν ἐκάστη δάκτυλα μαζοῖς.

Women with Nails their Breasts and Faces tear,
And thus their boundless headstrong Grief declare.

In the same Manner *Anna* bewails her Sister *Dido's* unexpected Death (a),

• *Audist exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu,
Unguibus ora soror fadans & pectora palmis.*

Her Sister hearing, speeds with frightfull Hast,
Tears her soft Cheeks, and beats her panting Breast.

Many Instances of this nature occur in both Languages, the Custom being generally practis'd both in *Greece* and at *Rome*. *Solon* thought fit amongst other Extravagancies at Funerals to forbid this (b). The *Lacedemonians* bore the Death of their private Relations with great Constancy and Moderation; but when their Kings dy'd, had a barbarous Custom of meeting in vast Numbers, where Men, Women, and Slaves all mix'd together, tore the Flesh from their Fore-heads with Pins, and Needles.

10. They accus'd and curs'd their Gods: Hence *Statius* (c),

—— *injustos rabidis pulsare querelis
Calicolas solamen erit.*——

T' inveigh against the Gods with justest Rage,
And call them envious, may our Grief assuage.

Nor was this the Effect of extravagant Passion, or practis'd only by Persons of weaker Understandings in the Extremity of their Sorrow; but frequently done by Men of all Qualities, and that in the most grave and solemn manner that could be, as appears from the same Poet (d);

—— *primævique senes, & longo examine matres
Invidiam planxere Deis.*——

The aged Sires, and Dames in num'rous Crouds
Bewail, and curse the Envy of the Gods.

For the Gods being thought subject to human Passions, 'twas very easy and natural for Men under Misfortunes to impeach them

(a) *Virgil. Æn. IV. 672.* (b) *Plutarchus Solone, Cicero de Legib.* (c) *Sylv. lib. V.* (d) *Theb. III.*

of Cruelty, or Envy. Thus, when *Hylas*, *Hercules's* Darling, perish'd in the Waters, the Deities residing there were said to have been enamour'd with him, and to have stol'n him; and, when any great and publick Blessing was taken away, the immortal Beings were said to envy Mankind so great Felicity. Many Instances might be produc'd to this purpose, whereof I will only set down that remarkable one of *Marcellus* in *Virgil* (a),

*Offendent terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra
Esse sinent: Nimum vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.*

This Wonder of the World the Gods but shew,
Heav'n were improv'ish'd shou'd he stay below:
Bless'd to excess had been the *Roman* State,
Had Heav'n these Gifts as lasting made as great.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Sometimes their impious Rage against the Gods proceeded to the pulling down their Altars, and sacking their Temples; an Example whereof we have in *Neoptolemus*, who, being inform'd that *Apollo* was accessary to his Father's Death, took up a Resolution to demolish the *Delphian* Temple, and perish'd in the Attempt (b).

11. Another Custom they had of drawling out their Words, and with Tears repeating the Interjection *ē, ē, ē, ē*. Hence (if we may credit the *Scholiast* (c) upon *Aristophanes*) Funeral Lamentations were call'd *ἐλεγος*, Elegies.

12. When publick Magistrates, or Persons of Note dy'd, or any publick Calamity happen'd, all publick Meetings were intermitted, the Schools of Exercise, Baths, Shops, Temples, and all Places of Concourse were shut up, and the whole City put on a Face of Sorrow: Thus we find the *Athenians* bewailing their Loss of *Socrates*, not long after they had sentenc'd him to Death (d).

13. They had Mourners and Musicians to increase the Solemnity: Which Custom seems to have been practis'd in most Parts of the World. The *Roman præfices* are remarkable, enough; and the Eastern Countries appear to have observ'd the same Practice; whence we find mention of Mourners going about the Streets, and Mournful Women in several Places of the sacred Writings. *Jeremy*, having foretold the Calamity of the *Jews*, advises to console, and call for the mourning Women; that they may make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our Eyes may run down with Tears, and our Eye-lids gush out with Waters (e). These *Homer* calls *ἑυδαίμωνες*, because they

(a) *Æn.* VI, 869. (b) *Æripud.* *Andromach.* (c) *Avibus.* (d) *Diogenes Laertius Socrate.* (e) *Cap IX, 17.*

endeavour'd to excite Sorrow in all the Company by beating their Breasts, and counterfeiting all the Actions of the most real and passionate Grief. They are likewise term'd ἀσιδὶ, παρορδὶ, &c. from the Songs they sung at Funerals; of these there seem to have been three, one in the Procession, another at the Funeral Pile, a third at the Grave; these were commonly term'd ὀλοφῶμοι, λί- νοι, αἰλινοί, tho' the two last seem not peculiar to Funeral-Songs, but applicable to any others: We find them sometimes call'd ἰάλεμοι from *Ialemus*, one of *Clio's* Sons, and the first Author of these Compositions; for the same reason Songs at Marriages were term'd ὑμῶμαι from his Brother *Hymeneus*: Funeral Dirges were also call'd τάλεμοι, whence παλμίζειν is expounded in *Hesychius* by θρῆνεῖν, to mourn; and παλμίσαι is another Name for mourn- ing Women: Hence τὰ παλμῶδη signify empty and worthless Things, and παλμὴ ψυχρότερος is proverbially apply'd to insipid and senceless Compositions (a); for the Songs us'd on these Oc- casions were usually very mean and trifling; whence that Saying of *Plautus* (b),

He non sunt nugæ, non enim mortuaria.

These are no Trifles, since they're not compos'd
For th' hideous Chanting of a Funeral.

What the Design of their Musical Instruments was, is not agree'd; some will have them intended to affright the Ghosts and Furies from the Soul of the deceas'd Person; others, agreeably to *Plato* and *Pythagoras's* Notions, would have them to signify the Soul's Departure into Heaven, where they phansy'd the Motion of the Spheres made a divine and eternal Harmony; others say they were design'd to divert the Sorrow of the dead Man's surviving Rela- tions; lastly, the most probable Opinion seems to be, that they were intended to excite Sorrow; which was the reason that the *Lyra* was never us'd at such Solemnities, as being consecrated to *Apollo*, and fit only for *Pæans*, and cheerfull Songs. *Admetus* indeed commands the Flute likewise to be banish'd out of his Ci- ty upon the Death of *Alceffis* (c),

Αὐλῶν ὃ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ, μὴ λυρὰς κτύπος
Ἔστω, σελῶνας δώδεκ' ἐκπληρωμένης,
Οὐ γάρ τιν' ἄλλον φίλτερον θάψω νεκρὸν
Τῷ δ'.

(a) *Suidas*, *Zenodorus*. (b) *Afinaria*. (c) *Euripid. Alceft. v. 439.*

Let not the pleasing Flute, nor sprightly Lyre,
 'Till *Phæbe* twelve Times has repair'd her Horns,
 Be in the mournfull City hear'd, for I
 A Corpse more dear than this shall ne'er interr.

Mr. Huchin.

But hence we are only to collect, that the Ancients had different sorts of Flutes, some of which were proper in Times of Mirth, others in Times of Mourning; for it appears by many Examples, that some of their αἰολοί, or *tibiae*, were of all other Instruments the most common at Funerals. Hence *Statius* in his Description of young *Archemorus's* Funeral (a),

*Tum signum luctus cornu grave mugit adunco
 Tibia, cui teneros suetum traducere manes
 Lege Phrygum mæsta: Pelopem monstrasse ferebant
 Exequiale sacrum, carmenque minoribus umbris
 Utile.*——

In dolefull Notes the *Phrygian* Flute complains,
 And moves our Pity with it's mournfull Strains,
 The *Phrygian* Flute of old us'd to convey
 The Infant-souls on their unerring Way,
 Which Custom into th' World first *Pelops* brought,
 And th' unknown Use of Fun'ral Dirges taught,
 Dirges, whose pow'rfull Sounds were thought to speed
 And smoothe the Passage of the younger Dead.

Mr. Huchin.

Some indeed will have the *Lydian* Flutes more suitable to Funerals, the *Phrygian*, of which *Statius* speaks, to agree better with Mirth and Cheerfulness, and to be us'd only at Funerals of Infants, or Youths, which were ordinarily solemniz'd in a manner quite different from those of grown Persons, which they think confirm'd by *Statius's* Words; but, as these may bear a quite different Sence, not the Instrument, but the Song whereof he there speaks, being proper for the Funerals of Persons under Age; so it appears farther that the most common Flutes us'd at these Solemnities were of the *Phrygian* Fashion, tho' perhaps neither the *Lydian*, nor some others might be wholly excluded; Hence *nénia*, which is the *Latin* Word for Funeral Dirges, seems to have been deriv'd from the *Greek* νυνίατον, which is us'd by *Hipponax*, and (however *Scaliger* deduces it from the *Hebrew*) affirm'd by *Pollux* to be of *Phrygian* Original; *νυνειζέδαι* is of the same Descent, and expounded by *ἐπλυνεῖν*. The *Carian* Flute was likewise us'd on these Occa-

(a) *Theb. lib. VI. v. 120.*

sions, whence the Musicians and Mourners were term'd *Kaeivai* (a), and *Kaeivai* *μῦσα* is a Funeral Song; now this was the very same with that us'd by the *Phrygians*, from whom, *Pollux* tells us, it was first convey'd into *Caria* (b). I shall only mention two more; the first is the *Mysian* Flute, an Instrument likewise fit for Sorrow: Hence *Æschylus* (c);

Kaì sép' ἀράσσει, καὶ ποῶ τὸ Μῦσον.

He beats his Breast, and sounds the *Mysian* Flute.

The last is the *Lydian* Flute, which, as *Plutarch* reports out of *Aristoxenus*, was first apply'd to this Use by *Olympus* at *Pythons* Death (d).

CHAPTER VI.

Of their manner of Interring and Burning the Dead.

IT would be needless to prove that both Interring and Burning were practis'd by the *Grecians*; yet whether of these Customs has the best Claim to Antiquity, may perhaps admit of a Dispute. But it seems probable, that however the later *Grecians* were better affected to the way of Burning, yet the Custom of the most primitive Ages was to inter their Dead. 'Tis plain the *Athenians*, however afterwards addicted to Burning, us'd Interment in *Cecrops's* Reign, if any Credit may be allow'd to *Cicero* (e); and the *Scholiast* upon *Homer* (f) positively affirms, that Interring was more ancient than Burning, which he reports to have been first introduc'd by *Hercules*. However, it appears that the Custom of Burning was receiv'd in the *Trojan* War, and both then and afterwards generally practis'd by the *Grecians*; insomuch that when *Lucian* enumerates the various Methods us'd by different Nations in disposing of their Dead, he expressly assigns Burning to *Greece*, and Interment to the *Persians* (g). But this is not so to be understood, as if the *Grecians* in the Ages he speaks of, never inter'd their Dead, or thought it unlawfull so to do; but only that the other Custom was more generally receiv'd by them. *Socrates* in *Plato's* *Phædon* speaks expressly of both Customs; and it appears that some of them look'd on the Custom of Burning as cruel and inhuman; whence a Poet cited by *Eustathius* (h) introduces a

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Lib. III.* (c) *Persis, ejusque Scholiastes ibid.* (d) *De Musica.* (e) *De Legib. lib. II.* (f) *Iliad. α'.* (g) *De lucæ.* (h) *Iliad. α' p. 32.*

Person exclaiming against it, and calling out upon *Prometheus* to hast to his Assistance, and steal, if possible, from Mortals the Fire he had given them. The Philosophers were divided in their Opinions about it; those, who thought human Bodies were compounded of Water, Earth, or the four Elements, inclin'd to have them committed to the Earth: but *Heraclitus* with his Followers, imagining Fire to be the first Principle of all Things, affected Burning. For every one thought it the most reasonable Method, and most agreeable to Nature, so to dispose of Bodies, as they might soonest be reduc'd to their first Principles.

Eustathius (a) assigns two Reasons why Burning came to be of so general Use in Greece: The first is, because Bodies were thought to be unclean after the Soul's Departure, and therefore were purify'd by Fire; whence *Euripides* speaks of *Chytemnestra*,

——— πρὸ καθήγινσαι δέμας.

The body's purify'd by Fire———.

The second reason is, that the Soul, being separated from the gross and unactive Matter, might be at Liberty to take it's Flight to the Heavenly Mansions (b). Wherefore the *Indian* Philosophers, out of Impatience to expect the Time appointed by Nature, us'd to consume themselves in a Pile erected for that purpose, and so loose their Souls from their Confinements: A remarkable Example hereof we have in *Calanus*, who follow'd *Alexander* out of *India*, and, finding himself indispos'd, obtain'd that King's Leave to prevent the Growth of his Distemper by committing himself to the Flames (c). *Hercules* was purify'd from the Dregs of Earth by the same means before his Reception into Heaven. And it seems to have been the common Opinion, that Fire was an admirable Expedient to refine the Celestial Part of Man by separating from it all gross and corruptible Matter, with the impure Qualities that attended it. Thus *Scylla*, being slain by *Hercules*, was rais'd from the Dead, and render'd immortal by her Father *Phorcys* (d);

——— ὡς αὖτις πατὴρ

Σάρακας κατὰ δὲ λαρῖσιν δομήσατο,

Λέπιδων ἔ τρέμεσαν ἔδωκεν δὲ δάμν.

——— into whose stiffen'd Limbs
Phorcys by quick'ning Flames new Life inspir'd,
And rais'd her high above the Fears of Death.

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Quintilianus* Declam. X. (c) *Q. Curtius*. (d) *Lycopiron. Cassandr.* v. 44.

The Piles, whereon they burn'd dead Bodies, were call'd *πυραί*. They seem not to have been erected in any constant Form, or to have consisted of the same Materials; these being vary'd as Time and Place, and other Circumstances requir'd.

The Body was plac'd upon the Top of the Pile; but was rarely burn'd without Company, for, besides the various Animals they threw upon the Pile, we seldom find a Man of Quality consum'd without a Number of Slaves, or Captives: Besides these, all sorts of precious Ointments and Perfumes were pour'd into the Flames. Many Instances of this nature might be produc'd out of the ancient Poets, but I shall only set down the following out of *Homer's* Description of *Patroclus's* Funeral (a);

Ποίισαν ὃ πυρὶ ἐκατόμποδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 Ἐν ὃ πυρὶ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ.
 Πολλὰ δ' ἴφια μῆλα, καὶ εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βύς
 Πρέσδε πυρὸς ἑδερὸν τε, καὶ ἀμφεπον ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντων
 Δημὸν ἐλὼν ἐγάλυψε νέκυν μεγάρυμος Ἀχιλλεύς
 Ἐς πέδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς· ὅττι δ' ὄρατ' αἰσώματα νήει.
 Ἐν δ' ἐπίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφοφορίας
 Πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων· πίσυρας δ' ἐλαιώχεναι ἵππους
 Ἐσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε πυρὶ μεγάλα σοναχίζων.
 Ἐννέα τάλυ ἀνακτι τσαπίζῃς κυνέες ἦσαν,
 Καὶ μὲν ἑνέβαλλε πυρὶ δύο δειροτομήσας.
 Δάδεναι δ' ἑπτὰ Τρώων μεγάρυμων ἵεας ἑδλῆς
 Χαλκῶν στήθων.

A spacious Pile the mournfull *Grecians* made,
 And on the Top his comely Body lay'd;
 Next strip'd the Sheep and Oxen, there that stood
 In solemn Ranks before the flaming Wood.
 But brave *Achill's*, as above the rest
 Concern'd, more Signs of Care and Love express:
 Straight off the Victims all the Fat he fle'd,
 And over all the much lov'd Corpse it spread;
 Then plac'd their Carcases around the Pile,
 And Vessels fill'd with Honey, and with Oyl;
 Next deeply groaning, with becoming Hast
 Four sprightly Coursers on the Pile he cast;
 Nine lovely Dogs he at his Table fed,
 And two of these upon the Pile he lay'd;

(a) *Iliad*. ὁ. v. 166.

Twelve valiant Trojan Captives next he slew,
And on the Pile their mangled Bodies threw.

Mr. Hutchin.

The reason why the Body was cover'd with the Fat of Beasts was, that it might consume the sooner (a); for it was look'd on as a singular Blessing to be quickly reduc'd to Ashes: Wherefore in Funerals, where Numbers of Bodies were burn'd on the same Pile, they were so dispos'd, that those of moist Constitutions and easy to be inflam'd, being proportion'd to Bodies of contrary Tempers, might encrease the Vehemence of the Fire; whence *Plutarch* (b) and *Macrobius* (c) have observ'd, that for ten Men it was the Custom to put in one Woman.

Souldiers usually had their Arms burn'd with them: Wherefore *Elpenor* in *Homer* begs this Favour of *Ulysses* (d);

Ἀλλὰ με κακῆμαι σὺν τούχεσιν ἅπαν μοι ὄσιν.

Let all the Arms I have be with me burn'd.

It seems likewise to have been the Custom for the Garments they had worn in the Time of their Lives, to be thrown into the Pile; Some were so solicitous about this, that they gave orders in their last Wills to have it done: And the *Athenians* were, as in all other Observances that related any way to Religion, so in this the most profuse of all the *Grecians*, insomuch that some of their Law-givers were forc'd to restrain them by severe Penalties from defrauding the Living by their Liberality to the Dead. *Lycurgus* would have nothing bury'd with Bodies beside one red Garment, or, at the most, a few Branches of Olive (e); nor these neither, except the Person had been eminent for Virtue and Fortitude. *Solon* allow'd three Garments and one Ox (f). At *Charonea* those that were convicted of Extravagance at Funerals, were punish'd as soft and effeminate by the *Censors* of Women (g).

The Pile was lighted by some of the dead Person's nearest Relations, or Friends; who made Prayers and Vows to the Winds to assist the Flames, that the Body might quickly be reduc'd to Ashes. Thus *Achilles*, having fir'd *Patroclus's* Pile, intercedes with *Boreas* and *Zephyrus* to fly to his Assistance with their Joynt-forces (h),

Οὐδ' ἔτι Πάτροκλος καί το τεθνεῶτος,
Ἐνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
Σταῖς ἀπάνευθε πυρὴς δοιοῖς ἥρ' ἂν ἀνέμοισι

(a) *Eustathius*. (b) *Sympos. lib. III. Quæst. IV.* (c) *Saturn. lib. VII. cap. VII.* (d) *Odyss. x. v. 74.* (e) *Plutarchus Lycurgo.* (f) *Idem Solone.* (g) *Idem ibidem.* (h) *Iliad. ψ. v. 194.*

Βορέη κ' Ζεφύρῳ, κ' ὑπέχ' αὖτο ἱερὰ καλὰ,
 Πολλὰ δὲ κ' ἀνένδων χρυσῶν δὲ παῖ λιτάνευεν
 Ἐλθέμεν, ὅφρα τάχιστα πυρὶ φλεγέδοιτο νεκρὸν,
 Τλὴ τ' ἐσπένυτο καήμεναι. —

When he perceiv'd the Flames t' abate their Force,
 Unable to consume th' unhappy Corse,
 Some Distance from the Pile the Hero stands,
 The golden Calice fills his royal Hands,
 And there to *Boreas*, and to *Zephyrus* pray'd,
 And with each Deity solemn Cov'nants made,
 That gratefull Victims shou'd their Altars stain
 And choicest Off'rings load the joyfull Fane,
 If with their kinder Blasts they'd fan the Fire,
 And with new Force the languid Flames inspire,
 That they to Earth the Corpe might soon reduce.

Mr. Huchin.

At the Funerals of Generals and great Officers, the Souldiers,
 with the rest of the Company, made a solemn Procession three
 Times round the Pile, to expres their Respect to the Dead. Thus
Homer's Grecians (a),

Οἱ δὲ τοῖς περὶ νεκρὸν εὐτρίχας ἤλασαν ἵππους
 Μυθόμενοι. —

They drive their Horses thrice about the Dead
 Lamenting. —

This Action was call'd in Greek *περὶ σπομὴ*, in *Latin decursio*; we
 find frequent mention of it in the Poets. *Statius* has elegantly de-
 scrib'd it in his Poem on the *Theban War* (b),

*Tunc septem numero turbas (cemenus ubique
 Surgit eques) versis ducunt insignibus ipsi
 Grajugenæ reges, lustrantque ex more sinistro
 Orbe rogam, & flammæ inclinant pulvere flammæ:
 Ter curvos egere sinus, illisquæ telis
 Tela sonant; quater horrendum pepulere fragorem
 Arma, quater mollem famularum brachia planctum.*

Seven goodly Troops the sad Decursion made,
 In each of which a hundred Horse appear'd,
 And these (a Posture fitting those that mourn'd)
 The Captains led with Ensigns downwards turn'd:

(a) *Iliad*. v. (b) *Lib. VI. v. 213.*

Towards the left they march ; on'th Pile they gaze,
 Whilst Clouds of Dust the thronging Horses raise,
 Whose much-prevailing Force depress the rising Blaze :
 Three Times they all the burning Pile surround,
 Whilst Darts strike Darts, and make a frightfull Sound ;
 Four Times the Din of clashing Arms invades
 The suff'ring Air ; four Times the mournfull Maids
 Loudly lament, each strikes her panting Breast,
 And Pity in us moves for the Deceas'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

Where it may be observ'd, that in this *Decursion* the Motion was towards the Left-hand, for by this they express'd Sorrow ; as, on the contrary, Motion to the Right was a Sign of Joy, thus the same Author (a),

———— *Hic luctus abolere, novique
 Funeris auspicium vates, quamquam omina sensit
 Vera, jubet, dextro gyro, & vibrantibus hastis
 Huc redeunt.*————

The Priest, tho' by the boding Signs he knew
 Some dire Calamity wou'd sure ensue,
 Bids them their anxious Thoughts a while forbear,
 Their pompous Grief, and bitter Passion spare,
 And moving tow'rs the Right with brandish'd Arms,
 Back to return.————

Mr. Hutchin.

These Motions were accompany'd with Shouts and Sound of Trumpet, as we learn from *Valerius Flaccus* (b) ;

*Inde ter armatos Minyis referentibus orbes
 Conenssi tremuere rogi, ter inhorruit æther
 Luctificum clangente tuba, jecere supremo
 Tum clamore faces.*————

Three Marches round the Pile the *Minyæ* make,
 Their weighty Strides the well-pil'd Structure shake,
 Thrice dolefull Sounds from hollow Tubes are sent,
 The Clangor wounds the troubled Firmament ;
 With Torches next accompany'd with Shouts
 They light the Pile.————

Mr. Hutchin.

Which last Words seem to intimate the *Decursion's* being made before the Pile was lighted, whereas it appears from other Authors

(a) Ibid. v. 221. (b) *Argon.* lib. III.

to have been made whilst the Pile was burning: Thus *Virgil* tells us in exprefs Words (a),

*Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos, ter maestum finneris ignem
Lustrare in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.*

Well-arm'd thrice round the Pile they march'd on foot,
Thrice round it rode, and with a dismal Shout
Survey'd the rowling Flames.——

During the Time the Pile was burning, the dead Person's Friends stood by it pouring forth Libations of Wine, and calling upon the Deceas'd. Thus *Achilles* attended all Night at *Patroclus's* Funeral (b),

——Καὶ πάννυχος ὥκως Ἀχιλλεύς
Χρυσὴν ἐκ κρητῆρος, ἔχων δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Οἶνον ἀρυσάμενος χάματις χέει, δαΐει δ' ἰοῦσαν,
Ψυχῇ κελύσκειν Πατρόκληος· δειλοῖο.

All Night divine *Achilles* do's attend
At the sad Fun'ral of his much-lov'd Friend:
A golden Cup he bore, that Wine contain'd,
Which pouring out the glutted Pavement stain'd;
His pious Off'ring thus the Hero pay'd,
Calling upon the *Manes* of the Dead.

Mr. Huchin.

When the Pile was burn'd down, and the Flames had ceas'd, they extinguish'd the Remains of the Fire with Wine, then collected the Bones and Ashes. Thus *Homer* relates of the *Trojans* at *Hector's* Funeral (c),

Πρῶτον μὲν καὶ πυρκαϊῇ σέσαν αἰδοπι οἶνον
Πᾶσαν, ὅπως ἐπιχε πρὸς μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὅσια λευκὰ λέγοντο κατ' ἄνθρωποι ἑταροῖ τε.

About the Pile the thronging People came,
And with black Wine quench'd the remaining Flame,
His Brothers then, and Friends search'd ev'ry where,
And gather'd up his snowy Bones with Care.

Mr. Congreve.

From which Words it appears, that this Office was perform'd by near Relations. To which Practice *Tibullus* likewise alludes;

(a) *Æneid*. XI. v. 188. (b) *Iliad*. ψ'. (c) *Iliad*. ω'. v. 791.

— Non hic mihi mater
 Quæ legat in mæstos ossa perusta sinus.

Nor was my dear indulgent Mother by,
 Who to her Breast my mold'ring Bones wou'd lay.

The Bones were sometimes wash'd with Wine, and (which commonly follow'd Washing) anointed with Oil. *Agamemnon* is introduc'd by *Homer* informing *Achilles* how this Ceremony had been perform'd to him (a);

Αὐτὰρ ἔπει δὴ σε φλῆξ ἥνυσεν Ἡραΐσιοι,
 Ἡῶθεν δὴ τοι λέγομεν λευκὰ ὅσε' Ἀχαιῶν,
 Οἶνον τ' ἀκρήτω καὶ ἀλείρατι. —

But when the Flame your Body had consum'd
 With Oyls, and Odors we your Bones perfum'd,
 And wash'd with unmix'd Wine. —

Patroclus's Remains were enclos'd in Fat (b);

Κλαίοντες δ' ἐτάροιο ἐνέθη ὅσέα λευκὰ
 Ἀλλεγον ἐς χρυσέῳ φιάλῃ καὶ δίπλακα θυμόν.

His mournfull Friends in Fat his Bones enclos'd,
 Then in a golden Urn they them repos'd.

It may here be demanded, how the Reliques were distinguish'd from those of the Beasts and Men burn'd with him; in answer to this Enquiry (omitting those groundless Stories of the Stone *Amiantus*, and *Indian Hemp*, which could not be consum'd by Fire) I shall produce two Instances, whereby it appears the Method they took to effect this, was by placing the Body in the Middle of the Pile, whereas the Men and Beasts burn'd with it lay on the Sides. Thus *Achilles* tells the *Grecians*, it would be easy to discover the Remains of *Patroclus* (c);

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊῇ σέσαιτ' αἰδομένοισιν
 Πᾶσαν, ὅπως ἐπερὶ πύρρην μένθ' αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Ὅσέα Πατρόκλοιο Μυοιπάδαο λέγωμεν,
 Εὖ διαγνωσκόντες, ἀειφραδία δ' ἐτύκτεται
 Ἐν μέσῃ γὰρ ἔκειτο πύρρῃ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνέθεν
 Ἐξ ἀπῇ χεῖροντ' ὀπιμῆξ' ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες.

(a) *Odyss.* ω'. v. 71. (b) *Iliad.* ψ'. v. 252. (c) *Loc. cit.*

First with black Wine extinguish all the Flames,
Quench ev'ry glowing Cinder that remains,
Then let us gather up, 'tis eas'ly done,
The unmix'd Bones of brave Menæti^{us} Son,
Your nicer Care needs not be here exprest,
You'll soon distinguish his from all the rest;
For in the Midst o'th' Pile his Corpse was plac'd,
Whilst Men and Beasts promiscuously cast,
Lay frying on the outward Parts.—

Mr. Hutchin.

Achilles's Bones are said to have been distinguish'd the same way (a);

Δὴ τότε πυρκαῖαν οἶνον σβέσταν, ὅσα δ' αὖτ' αἶψα
φαίνεται ἀειφραδέως· ἐπεὶ ἔχ' ἑτέρῃσιν ὅμοια
ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷα γίγαντος ἀτεκνέου· ἐδὲ μὲν ἄλλα
Σὺν κείνοισ' ἐμύμκτο· ἐπεὶ βόες, ἡδὲ καὶ ἵπποι,
καὶ παῖδες Τρώων μίγδα κταμένοισι καὶ ἄλλοις
βαλὼν ἀπ' αὐτῆς κέοντο πρὸς νέκυα· ὅς δ' ἐνὶ μέσσοις
ρίπῃ ὑπ' Ἡφαιίστῳ δειδμημένος ὅτος ἔκειτο.

When the remaining Flames they'd quench'd with Wine,
Which were the Hero's Bones was plainly seen;
Not like the rest, that fell his Sacrifice,
But of a larger and gigantick Size;
Nor cou'd his Bones be with the vulgar mix'd,
Since his rich Corpse remote from them was fix'd;
The captive Trojans, Beasts, and Horses slain
Upon the Out-works of the Pile were lain,
There burn'd some distance from the nobler Dead,
Who in the Midst o'th' Pile alone was lay'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

The Bones thus discover'd, they seem to have gather'd the Ashes
that lay close to them; nor do's it appear, there was any way to
distinguish the Remains of the Men from common Ashes.

The Bones and Ashes thus collected were reposit^{ed} in Urns, call'd
κελπυαί, φιάλαι, κρησσοί, λάβνακες, ὀσδοθήκη, ὀσδοδοχεῖα, σκευῖ,
&c. The Matter they consist^{ed} of was different, either Wood, Stone,
Earth, Silver, or Gold, according to the Quality of the Deceas'd.
When Persons of eminent Virtue dy'd, their Urns were frequently
adorn'd with Flowers, and Garlands; otherwise the general Custom
seems to have been, to cover them with Cloths 'till they were
deposited in the Earth, that the Light might not approach them.

(a) Quintus Smyrnaeus lib. III. v. 720.

This is particularly remark'd in *Homer's Funerals*; as when he speaks of *Hector's Bones* (a);

Καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖω εἰς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἐλόντες,
Πορφύρεοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν.

—An Urn of Gold was brought,
Wrapt in soft purple Palls, and richly wrought,
In this the sacred Ashes were interr'd.

The same Ceremony was perform'd towards *Patroclus's Urn* in the precedent *Iliad*,

Εν κλισίῃσι δ' ἔντες ἐανῶ λιτὴ χέλυσαν.

Within the Tent his costly Urn was lay'd,
And over it a Linnen-cloth was spread.

Concerning their Interment it may be observ'd, that the Bodies lay in their Coffins with Faces upwards; it being thought more proper, and perhaps more conducive to the Welfare of the Deceas'd, to have their Faces towards Heaven, the Abode of Celestial Gods, and Fountain of Light, than the dark Mansions of the Infernal Deities: Whence *Diogenes the Cynick*, being ask'd in what Posture he would be interr'd, answer'd, εἰς πρὸσωπον, with my Face downwards; the reason of which being demanded of him; he reply'd, that in a short Time the World would be turn'd upside down (b); which Answer seems design'd to ridicule the *Grecian Superstition* in this Point.

It may be observ'd farther, that the Heads of deceas'd Persons were so plac'd in the Grave, that they might look towards the rising Sun (c). *Plutarch* informs us indeed, that the *Megarensians* plac'd their Dead towards the East, and the *Athenians*, whose Custom seems herein to be the same with the rest of the *Greeks*, towards the West (d); and *Ælian*, as far as concerns the *Athenians*, agrees with him (e): But it must be consider'd, that to situate the Face so as it should look towards the rising Sun, 'twas necessary the Head should lie towards the West; whence also the Head, or uppermost Part of the Sepulchre, being to face the rising Sun, was likewise plac'd at the West-end.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will not be improper to add, that the *Megarensians* commonly put two, three, or four Carcases into the same Sepulchre; but at *Athens* one Sepulchre, much less one

(a) *Iliad*. ω'. line. (b) *Laërtius Diogene*. (c) *Thucydides Scholiaster*. (d) *Solone*. (e) *Var. Hist. lib. VII. cap. XIX.*

Coffin, or Urn, seldom contain'd above one Carcase (a); which seems to have been commonly observ'd by the rest of the *Greeks*; only those that were joyn'd by near Relation, or Affection were usually bury'd together; it being thought inhuman to part those in Death, whom no Accidents of Life could separate. Many Examples of this nature occur in ancient Writers; hence *Agathias's* Epigram concerning two Twins;

Εἰς δὲ ἀδελφεῖς ὅδ' ἐπύχει τάφῳ, ἐν δὲ ἐπύχον
 Ημᾶρ καὶ θνῆσ' οἱ δύο καὶ συνάτε.

Two Brothers lie interr'd within this Urn,
 Both dy'd together, as together born.

Lovers thought this no final Accession to their Happiness: *Thibault's* last Request was, that she might be interr'd with *Pyramus* (b);

*Hoc tamen amborum verbis estote rogati,
 O multum miseri meus illiusque parentes;
 Ut, quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit,
 Componi tumulo non irvideatis eodem.*

At length, our thrice unhappy Parents, hear,
 And grant us this our last most earnest Pray'r;
 That we, whom Love and Death together joyn'd;
 As both one Fate, one common Tomb may find.

Mr. Hutchins

Admetus in *Euripides* declares his Resolution to lie in the same Coffin with his Wife *Alcestis* (c);

Εν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ μὲ' ὀπταίνω καὶ θνήσκω
 Σοὶ τε δεῖναι παλὰς.

Close by thy Side I'll in thy Urn be lay'd.

Patroclus, appearing after Death to *Achilles*, begs of him, that he would repose his Bones in the same Urn he design'd for his own (d): And when *Achilles* was dead, we find the *Grecians* put the Ashes of his Friend *Amilochus* into the same Urn with his, but those of *Patroclus* they not only reposit in the same Vessel, but mingled them together: Thus the Ghost of *Agamemnon* tells him at their Meeting in the Shades below (e);

(a) *Plutarchus* So'one. (b) *Ovid*, *Metam.* IV. v. 154. (c) *Alcestis*, v. 365.
 (d) *Iliad.* ♀. (e) *Odys.* α'. v. 76.

Εν τῇ τοι κείται λευκὴ ὄσέα, παίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεύ,
 Μίγδα δ' Πατρόκλῳ Μενoitάδῳ θανόντος·
 Χωεῖς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, τ' ἐξοχα πῖς ἀπάντων
 Τῶν ἄλλων ἐτέρων μὲν Πατρόκλον γε θανόντα.

Within this Urn your sad Remains are lay'd
 Mixt with the Bones of your *Patroclus* dead:
 In the same Urn *Antilochus* doth lie;
 His Bones not mix'd with yours, but plac'd hard by;
 For much you did that worthy Chief esteem,
 Only *Patroclus* was preferr'd to him.

Mr. Hutchin.

Halcyone's Love carry's her farther yet, for, her Husband *Ceyx* having perish'd in a Tempest at Sea, she comforts her self in this, that, tho' his Body could not be found, yet their Names should be inscrib'd upon the same Monument, and, as it were, embrace each other (a);

—Crudeliior ipso

Sis mihi mens pelago, si vitam ducere nitar
 Longius, & tanto pugnem superesse dolori.
 Sed neque pugnabo, nec te, miserande, relinquam;
 En tibi nunc saltem veniam comes, inque sepulcro
 Si non urna, tamen junget nos litera, si non
 Ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam.

But I more cruel than the Sea shou'd be,
 Cou'd I have Thoughts to live depriv'd of thee,
 Cou'd I but dare to struggle with my Pain,
 And fondly hope behind thee to remain:
 Ah! no, dear *Ceyx*, I'll not leave thee so,
 I'll not contend with my too pressing Wo,
 Where e'er you lead *Halcyone* will go:
 And now at length, my dearest Lord, I come,
 And, tho' we are deny'd one common Tomb,
 Tho' in one Urn our Ashes be not lay'd,
 On the same Marble shall our Names be read;
 In am'rous Folds the circling Words shall joyn,
 And shew how much I lov'd, how you was only mine.

Mr. Hutchin.

(a) *Ovidii Met. lib. XI. v. 702.*

CHAPTER VII.

Of their Sepulcres, Monuments, Cenotaphia, &c.

THE primitive *Grecians* were bury'd in Places prepar'd for that purpose in their own Houses (a); the *Thebans* had once a Law, that no Person should build a House without providing a Repository for his Dead. It seems to have been very frequent even in later Ages to bury within their Cities; the most publick and frequented Places whereof seem to have been best stor'd with Monuments: But this was a Favour not ordinarily granted, except to Men of great Worth, and publick Benefactors; to such as had rais'd themselves above the common Level, and were Examples of Virtue to succeeding Ages, or had deserv'd by some eminent Service to have their Memories honour'd by Posterity. The *Magnesiens* rais'd a Sepulchre for *Themistocles* in the Midst of their Forum (b); *Euphron* had the same Honour at *Corinth* (c); and it appears to have been common for Colonies to bury their Leaders, under whose Conduct they possess'd themselves of new Habitations, in the Midst of their Cities (d).

Temples were sometimes made Repositories for the Dead; whereof the primitive Ages afford us many Instances; insomuch that some have been of opinion, that the Honours pay'd to the Dead were the first Cause of erecting Temples (e). Nor are later Times wholly void of such Examples, for the *Platæans* are said to have bury'd *Euclides* in the Temple of *Diana Eucleæ*, for his pious Labour in going a thousand *Stadia* in one Day to fetch some of the hallow'd Fire from *Delphi* (f): From which, with many other Instances, it appears, that this was look'd on as a very great Favour, and granted as a Reward to publick Services. Sometimes it was desir'd for Protection, as we learn from *Medea's* Case, who interr'd her two Sons in *Juno Acræa's* Temple to secure them from the Malice of her Enemies (g), as has been already observ'd.

But the Custom of most of the *Grecians*, in later Ages especially, was to bury their Dead out of their Cities, and chiefly by the High-ways: Which seems to be done, either to preserve themselves from the noisom Smells, wherewith Graves might infect their Cities; or to prevent the Danger their Houses were expos'd to, when Funeral Piles were set on Fire: Or, it may be, to fill the

(a) *Plato Minoe.* (b) *Plutarchus Themistocle.* (c) *Xenophon Emulor. lib. VII.* (d) *Pindari Scholiastes.* (e) *Vide Archaeolog. nostr. lib. II. cap. II.* (f) *Plutarchus Aristide.* (g) *Euripid. Med v 1378.*

Minds of Travellers with Thoughts of Mortality; or to excite themselves to encounter any Dangers, rather than permit an Enemy to approach their Walls, and despoil the Monuments, or disturb the Peace of the Dead; Lastly, (to trouble you with no more different Opinions) others think it most probable, that this Custom was first introduc'd by a Fear of contracting Pollution from the Dead, of which I have already treated in a foregoing Chapter.

But *Lycurgus*, as in most of his Institutions, so herein too differ'd from the rest of the *Grecian* Law-givers; for, to cut off the Superstition of Burying-places, he allow'd his *Lacedemonians* to bury their Dead within their City, and even round about their Temples; to the end, their Youth by being us'd to such Spectacles might not be afraid to see a dead Body; and withall to aid them of the Conceit, that to touch a Corpse, or to tread upon a Grave, would defile a Man (a).

Every Family was wont to have their proper Burying-place, to be depriv'd whereof was reputed one of the greatest Calamities that could befall them: Wherefore when the *Lacedemonians* were resolv'd to conquer the *Messenians*, or lose all their Lives in the Attempt, we read that they bound Tickets to their right Arms containing their own and their Father's Names; that, if all should perish in the Battle, and their Bodies be so mangled, as not to be distinguish'd, those Notes might certify what Family they belong'd to, that so they might be carry'd to the Sepulchres of their Ancestors (b). The rest of the *Grecians* had the same Custom; whence (to trouble you with only one Instance more) there being a Law, that such as preserv'd not their Inheritance, should be depriv'd of the Sepulchre of their Fathers, *Democritus*, having spent his Estate in the Study of Philosophy, was in Danger of incurring that Penalty (c).

The common Graves of primitive *Greece* were nothing but Caverns dug in the Earth (d), and call'd *ταφραι*: But those of later Ages were more curiously wrought, they were commonly pav'd with Stone, had Arches built over them, and were adorn'd with no less Art and Care than the Houses of the Living; insomuch that Mourners commonly retir'd themselves into the Vaults of the Dead, and there lamented over their Relations for many Days and Nights together, as appears from *Petronius's* Story of the *Ephesian* Matron.

Kings and great Men were anciently bury'd in Mountains, or at the Feet of them (e). Thus *Aveninus Sylvius* was interr'd in the Hill, that receiv'd it's Name from him (f). *Virgil* reports the same of King *Dercemus* (g);

(a) *Plutarchus Lycurgo.* (b) *Justinus lib. III.* (c) *Laërtius Democrito.*
(d) *Etymologiei Auctor v. ταφραι.* (e) *Servius Aen. XI.* (f) *Aurelius de orig. Gent. Roman.* (g) *Loc. cit.*

——— *Fuit ingens monte sub alto
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum.*

A Tomb beneath a mighty Mount they rear'd
For King *Dercennus*.———

Whence likewise appears the Custom of raising a Mount upon the Graves of great Persons, which *Lucan* has thus express'd, speaking of the *Ægyptians* (a),

Et regum cineres exstructo monie quiescunt.

Beneath a Mount their Monarchs Ashes rest.

This consisted sometimes of Stone; whence *Theſeus* in *Euripides* tells *Hercules*, the *Athenians* would honour his Corpse

——— *Λαῖνοισι τ' ἐξοικάζμασι.*

With high-built Monuments of Stone.———

But the common Materials were nothing but Earth, whence 'tis usually call'd *χωμα*. Thus *Euripides* (b),

——— *Ορδὸν χωμ' Ἀχιλλεύς τάφος.*

The Mount, which o'er *Achilles's* Tomb was rais'd.

To cast it up *Homer* call's *χέειν σῆμα*, speaking of *Hector's* Tomb (c);

Χεύαντες τὸδε σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.———

Having a Tomb of Earth rais'd o'er his Grave
They all departed.———

The same Words he had us'd before in the Description of *Patroclus's* Funeral (d): *Antipater* terms it *χώννυθαι τάφον*;

*Ἦσαν Πριάμυ βαλὺς τάφος, ἐχ' ὅτι τοῖς
Ἀξίος, ἀλλ' ἐχθρῶν χερσὶν ἐχώννυμεθα* (e).

Under this sordid Tomb do's *Priam* rest,
Not that his Worth did not deserve the best,
But 'cause his Enemies it rais'd.———

(a) Lib. VIII. (b) *Hecuba*. (c) *Iliad*. ω'. line. (d) *Iliad*. ψ'. (e) *Antholog Epigr.* lib. IV. tit. six ἡ ῥαῖς.

'Tis sometimes express'd by the more general Names of ὀκάσαι, ὑψάσαι, &c. Thus Euripides,

Μητέρ' ἐξώγειν τάφω.

O'er my dead Mother's Corpse a Tomb I rais'd.

The Author of the following Epigram has such another Expression (a);

Λοκρίδος ἐν νέμει σμικρῷ νέκῳ Ησιόδοιο
Νύμφαι κελυιάδων λῆσαν ἀπὸ σφετέρων,
Καὶ τάφον ὑψάσαντο. —

What Care and Love the Nymphs to Hesiod shew'd,
At their own Fountains in the Locrian Wood
They bath'd his life-less Corpse, and o'er't a Tomb they rear'd.

Whence the Latin *tumulus*, which in it's proper Sence imports no more than a Hillock, came to signify a Grave.

Whatever the Materials were, they were usually lay'd together with Care and Art: Thus Homer witnesseth of Patroclus's Tomb (b),

Τορῶσαντο δ' ὃ σῆμα, θεμείλια τε περβάλλοντο
Ἀμφὶ πυλῶν, εἶδαρ δὲ χυτῶν ὅπῃ γαῖαν ἔχεναν.

They enclos'd th' Ground wherein the Grave was made,
And cast in Earth upon it. —

Where by θεμείλια some understand the *lorica*, or enclos'd Ground round the Grave, sometimes term'd by the metaphorical Names of θριγκός, γείτον, &c. and call'd by Pausanias θεωρικαῖσθμῃ and κρηπίς, by others σέπτη, &c. For the ancient μνημεῖα were compos'd of two Parts, one was the Grave, or Tomb, which was likewise term'd μνημεῖον in a strict Sence of the Word, and is known by several other Names, mostly taken from it's Form, as σπήλαιον, πύμῃ, &c. The second Part was the Ground surrounding the Grave, and fenc'd about with Pales, or Walls, but usually open at the Top, and therefore sometimes call'd ὑπεμῆρον. Tombs of Stone were polish'd and adorn'd with greater Art; whence there is so frequent mention of ξισοὶ τάφω;

Τύμβον κατίψαι ξισόν (c). —

And see the polish'd Tomb. —

(a) Antholog. lib. III. tit. αὐτοποιήσεως. (b) Iliad. β'. (c) Euripid. Alceste. v. 836.

And again (a);

——— Ἐπὶ ξυστῶ τάφῳ.

——— Upon the polish'd Tomb.

The Ornaments, wherewith Sepulchres were beautify'd, were numerous. Pillars of Stone were very ancient, as appears from the Story of *Idas's* striking *Pollux* with a Pillar broken from his Grandfather *Amyclas's* Monument (b);

——— Τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἔπι

Πληγῷ ἀδαμῶς κριὸς ἐκκορύψεται,

Ἀγαλμα πῖλῆς τ' Ἀμυκλαίων τάφῳ.

Next with a Pillar *Idas* him shall strike,
A Pillar pluck'd from th' hallow'd Sepulchre
Of *Amyclas*.———

Pindar calls it ἀγαλμ' αἰδαο, ξυστὸν πέτρων (c), and *Theocritus* takes notice of the same Accident (d).

These Pillars were term'd στήλαι, and frequently contain'd Inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever was remarkable in the Deceas'd, which were commonly describ'd in Verses. The *Sicyonians* had no such Inscriptions (e); *Lycurgus* also would by no means allow of Talkative Grave-stones, nor suffer so much as the Names to be inscrib'd, but only of such Men who dy'd in the Wars, or Women in Child-bed (f). Nor was it unusual at other Places to omit the Names of the Deceas'd, writing instead of them some moral Aphorism, or short Exhortation to the Living, such as this,

ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΤΕΡΓΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ.

The Virtuous and the Dead ought to be respected.

Beside this, especially where there was no Inscription, they commonly added the dead Man's Effigies, or some other Resemblance pertinent to the Occasion, and signifying his Temper, Studies, Employment, or Condition. Virgins had commonly the Image of a Maid with a Vessel of Water upon their Tombs (g); the former to represent the Deceas'd, the later to denote a Custom the young Men had of carrying Water to the Sepulchres of unmarried Maids. A carefull House-keeper was represented by such Figures, as are mention'd in the following Epigram of *Antipater* upon *Lysidice*,

(a) *Idem* *Hel'en.* v. 992. (b) *Lycophron* *Cassandr.* v. 557. (c) *Nemcon.* *Od.* X. (d) *Dioscuris.* (e) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis.* (f) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo.* (g) *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VII.

Μασεύω τίς σὺ, τίς ὅπῃ σελήπῃ πέτρα,
 Λυσιδίκα, γλυπτόν τόν δ' ἐχάραξε νόον;
 "Τὰ μὲ ἀνεγερθεύσαν με ποτ' εἶεα νυκτερος ὄρνις."
 "Ανία δ' αὐδαίσει δώματος ἡνίοχον."
 "Ἰσπασήρ δ' ὅδε κημὸς αἰεῖσεται ἐ πολύμυθον,
 "Οὐ λάλον, ἀλλὰ χαλαῖς ἐμπλεον ἡσυχίης.

I've often sought, tell me, *Lysidice*,
 What is the meaning of this Imag'ry,
 What mean these curious Figures round thy Tomb,
 What are they all design'd for, and by whom?
 "I'll tell you, Sir, and first that Bird of Night
 "Shews how I us'd to spin by Candle-light;
 "That well-carv'd Bridle on the Side is meant
 "My well-rul'd Family to represent;
 "My peacefull Temper next the Muzzle shews,
 "That I no Scold, or busy Tatler was.

Mr. Hutchin.

Diogenes the *Cynick* had a Dog engraven upon his Monument to denote the Temper of his Sect, or his own. *Isocrates's* Tomb was adorn'd with the Image of a *Siren*, *Archimedes's* with a Sphere, and Cylinder; whereby the charming Eloquence of the former, the Mathematical Studies of the later were signify'd. Nor was it unusual to fix upon Graves the Instruments which the Deceas'd had us'd: The Graves of Souldiers were distinguish'd by their Weapons, of Mariners by their Oars; and, in short, the Tools of every Art and Profession accompany'd their Masters, and remain'd as Monuments to preserve their Memory. Hence *Elpenor* is introduc'd by *Homer* (a) begging of *Ulysses* to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, as ha. been already observ'd (b): *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the like Office to his Trumpeter *Misenus* (c).

These, with many other Ceremonies, were design'd to perpetuate the Memory of the Deceas'd; whence their Graves were term'd σήματα, μνημεῖα, μνήματα, &c. *Agamemnon* reckons it a great Happiness to *Achilles*, that he was honour'd with a Monument, that would continue his Name to Posterity (d);

Ὡλεῖ, Πηλέος υἱέ, θεοῖς ἐπείκελ' Ἀχιλλεύ,
 ὅς δ' ἄντες ἐν Τροίῃ, &c. ———

You are thrice happy, God-like *Peless's* Son,
 Who did at *Troy* resign your Breath. ———

(a) *Odysf.* α'. v. 75. (b) *Lib. III. c. XI. p. 114.* (c) *Aeneid. VI.* (d) *Odysf.* α'. v. 36.

And afterwards,

—— Μέραν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
 χθαμένῃ Ἀργείων ἱερῆς σπᾶτος αἰχμητῶν
 Ἀκτῇ δὴ πρὸς ἑσπέρῃ δὴ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ
 ὧς κεν Πηλεΐδης ἐκ Ποντοῖν ἀνδράσιν εἴης,
 Τοῖς οἱ νῦν γράσσι, καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.

To thy great Name did warlike *Greeks* rear
 A large and never-fading Sepulchre,
 And this they plac'd upon a rising Mount
 Impending o'er the spacious *Hellaspont*,
 That so both Ages present and to come
 From distant Shores might see thy sacred Tomb.

Mr. Hutchin.

But later Ages grew so extravagant in these Structures, that their Law-givers were forc'd to keep them within Bounds, by inflicting severe Penalties upon such as exceeded their Prescriptions: *Solon* in particular is reported to have order'd that no Statues of *Mercury* (as had been customary, because *Mercury* was an Infernal God) or arch'd Roofs should be made in the *Athenian* Monuments, and that they should never be greater than ten Men were able to erect in three Days; and *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* enacted a Law, that not above one Pillar, and that not exceeding three Cubits in Height, should be plac'd upon any Monument.

It may not be improper to mention their Custom of praying for their Friends, and Men of Piety and Virtue, that the Earth might lie light upon them; for their Enemies, and all wicked Men, that it might press heavy upon them; for they thought the Ghosts, that still haunted their Shrowds, and were in love with their former Habitations, had a very acute Sense of all the Accidents that befall their Bodies. Hence the *Chorus* prays for *Alcestis* (a),

—— Κεφα σοι
 χθον' ἐπάνω πέσῃ, γυναι.

I wish the Earth may fall upon you light.

Menelaus is introduc'd by the same Poet (b) arming himself against Death by this Consideration, that the Gods took care that such who dy'd with Honour should have no Sense of any Pressure from the Earth, whereas Cowards shou'd be crush'd under it;

(a) *Euripid. Alcest. v. 452.* (b) *Helen v. 857.*

Εἰ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοί,
 Εὐψυχον ἄνδρα πολέμιον θάρονθ' ὕπο
 Κέφῃ καταμήχουσιν ἐν πύμῳ χθονί.
 Κακοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα στερὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν γῆς.

For if the Gods (and sure they all Things know)
 Have due regard for Mortals here below,
 They will not, cannot suffer those that dy
 By the too pow'rfull Force o'th' Enemy,
 If they with Courage have maintain'd their Post,
 And for the publick Good their Lives have lost,
 To be o'erburthen'd with the heavy Weight
 Of Earth; but such as stand agast at Fate,
 Base dastard Souls that shrink at ev'ry Blow,
 Nor dare to look on a prevailing Foe,
 These shall (nor is the Punishment unjust)
 Be crush'd and tortur'd by avenging Dust.

Mr. Hurchin.

Phædra prays this Punishment may be inflicted upon wicked *Phædra* (a);

— *Istam terra defossam premat
 Gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet.*

And may the Earth that is upon her lay'd,
 Lie heavy on her Corpse, and crush her curld Head.

Ammianus has ingeniously inverted this Order in this Epigram (b);

Εἴη σοι χθὶ γῆς κέφῃ κόνις, οἰκτρε Νέερχε,
 Ὅρρα σε ἐμὸδ' ἰὼς ἐξεύσῃσι κυνέες.

Which *Marial* translates thus (c);

*Sit tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arena,
 Ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes.*

Let there be one, who lighter Dust, or Sand
 Shall sprinkle o'er your Corpse with sparing Hand,
 So to the Dogs you'll be an easier Prey.

Pass we now to the Monuments erected in honour of the Dead,
 but not containing any of their Remains, and thence call'd
 κενοτάφια, κενήματα.

(a) *Senec. Hippolyt. fine.* (b) *Antholog. lib. II. tit. vi. ποταμός.* (c) *Lib. IX. Epitaph. Philan.*

Of these there were two sorts: One was erected to such Persons, as had been honour'd with Funeral Rites in another Place; of which we find frequent mention in *Pausanias* (a), who speaks of such honorary Tombs dedicated to *Euripides*, *Aristomenes*, *Achilles*, *Dameon*, *Tiresias*, &c.

The second sort was erected for those that had never obtain'd a just Funeral; for the Ancients were possess'd with an Opinion, that the Ghosts of Men unbury'd could have no Admittance into the blessed Regions, but were forc'd to wander in Misery an hundred Years: Now when any Man had perish'd in the Sea, or any other Place where his Carcase could not be found, the only Method of giving him Repose was to erect a Sepulchre, and by repeating three Times with a loud Voice the Name of the Deceas'd call his Ghost to the Habitation prepar'd for it, which Action was term'd *ὑπακρυσία*.

This Practice seems to be very ancient: *Pelias* is introduc'd in *Pindar* (b) telling *Jason* he must recall the Soul of *Phryxus*, who dy'd in *Colchis*, into his native Country; *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the same Office to *Deiphobus* (c),

*Tunc egomet tumulum Rhæteo in litore inanem
Constitui, & magna manes ter voce vocavi.*

Thy Tomb I rear'd on the *Rhætean* Coast,
And thrice aloud call'd back thy wand'ring Ghost.

Ausonius has elegantly describ'd, and assign'd the reason of this Custom (d);

*Hoc satis & tumulis, satis & telluris egenis;
Voce ciere animas funeris instar habet:
Gaudent compositi cineres sua nomina dici;
Fromibus hoc scriptis & monumenta jubent:
Ille etiam mæsti cui desuit urna sepulcri,
Nomine ter dicto pene sepultus erit.*

Small is the Priv'lege that th' unbury'd crave,
No Grave, or decent Burial they have,
We only 'stead of pompous Funeral
Aloud upon their wand'ring *Manes* call;
This they command, with this they most are pleas'd
And empty Mon'ments with Inscriptions rais'd:
For he, whose *Manes* have been so recall'd,
Tho' his dead Corpse of fit Interment fail'd,

(a) *Atticis*, *Messenicis*, *Eliae*. &c. *Baoticis*. (b) *Pythiænic*. Qd. IV. (c) *Aeneid*. VI. v. 505. (d) *Præfat. Parentalium*.

As high as happy, and as fully blest
As he, whose Bones beneath a Tomb-stone rest.

Mr. Hutchins.

Many Instances of this nature may be met with in all the Poets. The Sign, whereby Honorary Sepulchres were distinguish'd from others, was commonly *ἱερὸν*, or a Wreck of a Ship (a), to signify the Decease of that Person in some foreign Country.

It may be expected, that I should add something concerning the Sacredness of Sepulchres. These, with all other Things belonging to the Dead, were had in so great Esteem, that to deface, or any way violate them, was a Crime no less than Sacrilege, and thought to entail certain Ruin upon all Persons guilty of it. Examples of this nature are too common to be enumerated in this Place; wherefore I shall only set down that of *Idas*, who upon breaking one of the Pillars in *Aphareus's* Sepulchre was immediately thunder-struck by *Jupiter* (a);

Ἡ γὰρ οὕτω σάλαν Ἀφάρειος ἐξάνεχυσαν
Τύμβῳ ἀναρῆξας ταχέως Μειάνιος Ἰδας,
Μέλλε κασιγνήτιο βάλεῖν σφετέρῳ φονῆα.
Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπάμυνε, χερῶν δὲ οἱ ἐκβαλε πικρὰν
Μάρμαρον, αὐτὸν δ' ὀλοήν σπινθήρεξε κεραυνῶ.

For, to revenge fall'n *Lyncæus's* hasty Doom,
He tore a Pillar from the sacred Tomb,
To dart at *Castor*, dreadfully he stood,
The fierce Revenger of his Brother's Blood;
Jove interpos'd, and by his strickt Command
Swift Lightning struck the Marble from his Hand;
He strove to reach it, but his Soul was fir'd,
He fell, and in no common Destiny expir'd.

Mr. Creech.

It has been a Question, whether the *Cenotaphia* had the same religious Regard, that was paid to Sepulchres where the Remains of the Deceas'd were reposit'd: For the Resolution hereof it may be observ'd, that such of them, as were only erected for the Honour of the Dead, were not held so sacred as to call for any Judgment upon such as profan'd them; but the rest, wherein Ghosts were thought to reside, seem to have been in the same Condition with Sepulchres, the Want whereof they were design'd to supply.

(a) *Theocritus*, Idyll xlv. v. 207.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of their Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honours of the Dead, &c.

BEFORE the Company departed from the Sepulchre, they were sometimes entertain'd with a Panegyrick upon the dead Person. Such of the *Athenians* as dy'd in War, had an Oration solemnly pronounc'd by a Person appointed by the publick Magistrate: Nor was this thought a Recompence equal to their Deserts, except it was repeated constantly upon an anniversary Day (a). These Customs were not very ancient, being first introduc'd by *Solon*, or (as some say) by *Pericles*; but were generally receiv'd not in *Greece* only, but at *Rome*; and it was thought no small Accession to the Happiness of the Deceas'd to be eloquently commended; for we find *Pliny* completing his Account of *Virginus Rufus's* Felicity in this, that his Funeral Oration was pronounc'd by one of the most eloquent Tongues of that Age (b).

It was farther customary for Persons of Quality to institute Games with all sorts of Exercises, to render the Death of their Friends more remarkable. This Practice was generally receiv'd, and is frequently mention'd by ancient Writers; *Miltiades's* Funeral in *Herodotus*, *Brasidas's* in *Thucydides*, *Timoleon's* in *Plutarch*, with many others, afford Examples hereof: Nor was it a Custom of later Ages, but very common in the primitive Times; *Patroclus's* Funeral Games take up the greatest Part of one of *Homer's Iliads* (c), and *Agamemnon's* Ghost is introduc'd by the same Poet telling the Ghost of *Achilles* that he had been a Spectator at great Numbers of such Solemnities (d);

Μήτηρ δ' αἰτήσασα θεῖς, περικαλλέ' αἶθλα
 ὄηκε μέσῳ ἐν ἀγῶνι ἀεισέουσιν Ἀχαιῶν·
 ἦδη γὰρ πολέων τάρφ' ἀνδρῶν ἀντιβόκησα
 Ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ' ἀσπρδιμύς βασιλῆος
 Ζώννυσταί τε νέοι, καὶ ἐπεντόνονταί αἶθλα·
 Ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνα μάλιστα ἰδὼν ἐπιθήπια θυμῷ,
 οἷ' ὅτι σοι κατέθηκε θεὰ περικαλλέ' αἶθλα
 Ἀργυροπίττα θεέης. —

(a) Cicero de Orat. (b) Lib. II. Ep. I. (c) *Iliad*. ψ'. (d) *Odys.* α'. v. 85.

Your Mother full of Piety and Love
Craves first a Blessing from the Pow'rs above,
Then she doth rich Rewards and Prizes state,
While sprightly Youths the Games do celebrate;
I've been at many Games, great Piles survey'd,
Which eternize heroick Chiefs when dead,
But none can equal Wonders seem to be,
As those the pious *Thesis* made for thee.

Mr. Abell.

In the Age before, we find *Oedipus's* Funeral solemniz'd with Sports, and *Hercules* is said to have celebrated Games at the Death of *Pelops* (a). The first that had this Honour was *Azan* the Son of *Arcas* the Father of the *Arcadians*, whose Funeral, as *Pausanias* reports (b), was celebrated with Horse-races. The Prizes were of different sorts and Value, according to the Quality and Magnificence of the Person that instituted them. The Garlands given to Victors were usually of Parsly, which was thought to have some particular Relation to the Dead, as being feign'd to spring out of *Archémorus's* Blood, whence it became the Crown of Conquerors in the *Nemean Games*, which were first instituted at his Funeral (c).

'Twas a general Opinion that dead Bodies polluted all Things about them; this occasion'd Purifying after Funerals, which *Virgil* has thus describ'd (d);

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi, & ramo feliciæ olivæ,
Lustravitque viros.*

Then, carry'ng Water thrice about his Mates,
And sprinkling with an Olive-twigg, their Fates
Good *Chorineus* wisely expiates.

Several other ways of Purification may be met with, but these, containing nothing peculiar to Funerals, and being describ'd in one of the precedent Books, have no claim to any Mention in this Place. 'Till this Purification was accomplish'd, the polluted Person could not enter into the Temples, or communicate at the Worship of the Gods; whence *Iphigenia* speaks the following Words concerning *Diana* (e);

Τὰ τ' εἶν' ὃ μέμφομαι σοφίσματα,
Ἡς, βροτῶν μὲν οὐκ ἀνέστις φόνος,

(a) *Dionysius Halicarnass.* lib. V. (b) *Arcadicis.* (c) *Vide Archaeolog. nostr.* lib. II. cap. penult. & ult. (d) *Aeneid.* lib. VI. v. 129. (e) *Euripid. Iphigen. Tauric.* 380.

Ἡ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῶ δῖγῃ χερσίν,
Βωμῶν ἀπείργῃ, μυσσάδην ὡς ἠγεμνῆν.

The superstitious Tricks and Niceties
Of strict *Diana's* Worship I dislike,
Since of departed Friends the farewell Touch,
All Murder done in Passion, or otherwise,
And Acts of *Vener*y she doth reject,
As great Pollutions of her sacred Rites,
Actors herein proscribing from her Gifts.

Mr. *Abell*.

Nor was it *Diana* alone, of whom the Poet speaks, that had such an Aversion to these Pollutions; but the rest of the Gods and Goddesses were of the same Temper. *Lucian*, in his Treatise concerning the *Syrian* Goddess, tells us, that, when any Person had seen a Corpse, he was not admitted into her Temple 'till the Day following, and not then except he had first purify'd himself; and the general Use of this Custom (a) shews, that the rest of the Celestial Beings were equally afraid of Defilement. This may farther appear from it's being unlawfull for those Persons to enter into the Temples, who were call'd ὑπερῷοι, or δευτέρωιοι (b), i. e. such as were thought Dead, but after the Performance of their Funeral Rites recover'd; or such who were reported to be Dead in some foreign Country, and unexpectedly return'd: These Men were prohibited from worshipping any of the Gods; *Hesychius* mentions only the *Eumenides*, but others speak of the Gods in general: Whence *Aristimus* was forc'd to send Messengers to consult the *Delphian* Oracle what Method he should use to be free'd from Pollution, where he receiv'd this Answer;

Ὅσα μὲ ἐν λεχέσσι γυνὴ πικρὰ τελεῖται,
Τόσα μὲ ἀν' τελέσαντα δοῦν μαχέρεσσι θεοῖσι.

All Forms and Customs which Child-birth attend,
The same must you to th' angry Gods commend.

Whereupon he was wash'd, swaddled, and treated in all other respects as new-born Infants, and then receiv'd into Communion. But, as my Author (c) proceeds, others make this Custom much antienter than *Aristimus*, carrying it up as high as the primitive Ages.

The House too was purify'd; an Instance whereof we have in *Homer* (d), where *Ulysses*, having slain *Penelope's* Courtiers, and carry'd them out of his House, thus bespeaks his old Nurse;

(a) *Suidas*, v. καλῶν. *Aristophan. Scholiast. Nubibus*. (b) *Hesychius* in utraque voce. (c) *Plutarchus Quest. Roman.* haud longe ab initio. (d) *Odys.* χ' 481.

Οἷσε θείον, γῆν', καὶ ἄκος, οἷσε δέ μοι πῦρ,
Οὔρα θειώσω μέγαρον. ———

Fetch Brimstone hither, Nurse, and Fire, that I
My tainted Dwelling-house may purify.

Afterwards the Poet adds (a);

——— Οὐδ' ἀπίσῃσι φίλῃ τροφῇς Εὐρύκλεια,
Ηνεγκεν δ' ἄρα πῦρ, καὶ θήιον αὐτὰρ Οδυσσεὺς
Εὖ διειδώσιν μέγαρον, καὶ δῶμα, καὶ αὐλῶν.

Straight trusty *Eurycle* perform'd his Will,
Then he with sulph'rous Smoke the House doth fill,
And chas'd th' Infection from polluted Rooms.

But the *Lacedemonians* were taught by their Law-giver to condemn these superstitious Follies, and think it unreasonable to phansy, that such as liv'd a vertuous Life, and conformably to their Discipline, should contract any Pollution by Death: On the contrary, they were more inclin'd to esteem their Remains worthy of all Respect and Honour, and therefore no Places so fit to repository them in, as those adjoining to the Temples of their Gods (b).

After the Funeral was over, the Company met together at the House of the deceas'd Person's nearest Relations, to divert them from Sorrow. Here there was an Entertainment provided (c), which was term'd *πείδειπνον*, *νεκροδείπνον*, *τάριον*, &c. Thus (to omit other Instances) the *Trojans*, having celebrated *Hector's* Funeral, were splendidly entertain'd at King *Priam's* Palace (d);

Χοῦαντες δ' τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Εὖ συναγεγάμητοι δάνειον· εἰκυδία δ' αὖτα
Δῶμασιν ἐν Πριάμοιο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος.

A Tomb being rais'd, they orderly resort
In pensive Crowds unto King *Priam's* Court,
Where a rich Banquet cheerfull Mirth invites,
And sparkling Wine whets their pall'd Appetites.

Mr. *Abell*.

The same Custom may be observ'd in the *Grecian* Camp with this Difference, that *Achilles* entertain'd them before *Patroclus's* Funeral (e);

(a) V. 492. (b) *Plutarchus Lycurgo*. (c) *Demosthenes Orat. de Corona*, *Lucianus Dialog. de luctu*. (d) *Iliad. ω'. line*. (e) *Iliad. ψ'. v. 28*.

Κὰδ δ' ἴζον παρὰ νηὶ ποδάρεος Αἰακίδαο
 Μυεῖοι, αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι τάφον μενοεικέα δαῖν·
 Πολλοὶ γὰρ βόες ἀργαὶ ὀρέχθεον ἄμφι σιδήρῳ
 Σφαζόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' οἶτες, καὶ μυκᾶδες αἶγες·
 Πολλοὶ δ' ἀργάδοντες ὕς σαλέδοντες ἀλοιφῇ
 Εὐόμοιο πανύοντο Δῖα φλογὶς Ἡφαίστιο·
 Πάντῃ δ' ἄμφι νέκυα κοτυλήρυτον ἔρρεν αἷμα.

While great Achilles doth prepare the Meat
 For th' Fun'ral Banquet, thronging Grecians sit
 About the Hero's Ship; whole Herds he kills
 Of huge, fat Oxen roaring while he spills
 Their Lives, that issue from their reeking Wounds;
 Whole Flocks of Sheep he kills; the Air resounds,
 While Goats and fatted Swine make hideous roar,
 When purple Streams from their gall'd Throats do pour,
 These having kill'd he roasts: the while the Blood.
 Around the Corpse in a great Current flow'd.

Mr. Abell.

By which last Words it appears, the dead Person had some Interest in these Entertainments; and as the Blood of the Beasts was design'd for Patroclus's Ghost, so, even in later Ages, we are told the broken Morfels that fell from the Tables were look'd on as sacred to the departed Souls, and not lawfull to be eaten (a). To this Phansy Pythagoras's Aphorism, tho' perhaps containing a more mystical Sence, was an undoubted Allusion (b), τὰ πρὸντα μὴ ἀναρξέσθαι, i. e. Take not up Things fall'n down; or, as others express it, Μὴδὲ γυνέσθαι ἑπ' ἀν' ἐν τῷ τραπέζῃ κατὰ πέτρῃ, i. e. Do not so much as tast Things fall'n under the Table: These Fragments were carry'd to the Tomb, and there left for the Ghost to feast upon; whence to denote extreme Poverty, it was usual to say that a Person stole his Meat from the Graves: To this Tibullus's Curse alludes,

*Ipse fame stimulant furens, escape sepulcro
 Quærat, & à sacris ossa relicta lupis.*

May she want Bread so much as ev'n to crave
 The Scraps and musty Morfels of a Grave;
 May she be glad to pick a Carcase Bone,
 Which Wolves and Vultures once have fed upon.

Mr. Abell.

(a) Athenai Δέπνισσος. lib. X. (b) Laërtius Pythagora.

The Entertainments of later Ages consisted not, like *Homer's*, of Flesh only, but all sorts of Pulse (a), Beans, Pease, with Lettices, Parsly, Eggs, and many other Things. The chief Subject of Discourse at these Meetings were the Praises of the Dead, especially if they had been eminent for any Virtue, or commendable Quality: Otherwise, so great was the Simplicity of primitive Ages, that they look'd upon it most expedient to say nothing; when by speaking they must unavoidably offend the dead Man, or transgress the Rules of Truth, both which were thought equally criminal. But afterwards they grew more lavish of their Commendations, distributing to all Persons without Distinction; whence came the Proverb *Οὐκ ἐπαυανδέϊνς ἐστ' ἐν πεδείπῳ*, which was only apply'd to Villains of the first Rate, and such as had not the least Shadow of a good Quality to recommend them.

There was a Custom at *Argos* obliging those that had lost any of their Kindred, or Acquaintance, to sacrifice to *Apollo* presently after Mourning, and thirty Days after to *Mercury* out of an opinion that, as the Earth receiv'd their Bodies, so their Souls fell into *Mercury's* Hands: The Barly of the Sacrifice they gave to *Apollo's* Minister; the Flesh they took themselves, and having extinguish'd the sacrificial Fire, which they accounted polluted, kindled another, whereon they boyl'd the Flesh, calling it *ἑσχυισμα* (b), from the *Fumes* ascending from the burn'd Sacrifice, and term'd in Greek *κυσσάει*.

The Honours pay'd to the Sepulcres and Memories of the Deceas'd were of divers sorts: It was frequent to place Lamps in the subterraneous Vaults of the Dead; whither such, as would express an extraordinary Affection for their Relations, retir'd, and cloyster'd themselves up; an Example whereof we have in *Petronius's Ephesian Matron*.

They had a Custom of bedecking Tombs with Herbs and Flowers, amongst which Parsly was chiefly in use, as appears from *Plutarch's* Story of *Timoleon*, who, marching up an Ascent from the Top of which he might take a View of the Army, and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, was met by a Company of Mules loaden with Parsly; which (saith my Author) his Souldiers conceiv'd to be a very ill-boding and fatal Occurrence, that being the very Herb, wherewith we adorn the Sepulcres of the Dead; this Custom gave Birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one dangerously sick *δεῖδαι σελίνου*, that he has need of nothing but Parsly; which is in effect to say, He's a dead Man and ready for his Grave. All sorts of purple and white Flowers were acceptable to the Dead, as *amaranthus*, which was first us'd by

(a) *Plutarchus Problemata*. (b) *Plutarchus Quaest. Graec.* p. 256, 257. edit. Paris.

the Thessalians to adorn Achilles's Grave (a); πόθος λευκός (b), which some will have to be the Jasmin, with Lilies, and several others: Hence Virgil (c),

Purpureosque jacit flores, ac talia fatiur.

He, having purple Flowers straw'd, thus spoke.

In the subsequent Book he alludes to the same Custom (d);

*Hec, miserande puer, siqua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris, manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis.*——

Ah! could'st thou break thro' Fate's severe Decree,
A new Marcellus shall arise in thee:
Full Canisters of fragrant Lilies bring
And all the curious Drap'ry of the Spring;
Let me with purple Flow'rs his Body strow,
This Gift, which Parents to their Children owe,
This unavailing Gift at least I may bestow.

The Rose too was very gratefull; whence Anacreon has these Verses in his Ode upon that Flower;

Τόδε κ' νοσῶσιν ἀρκεῖ,
Τόδε κ' νεκρῶς ἀμυῖει.

When Age and Vigor do decay,
The Rose their Strength repairs,
It drives ill Maladies away,
And can prolong our Years;
The Dead too in their Graves do lie
With peacefull Slumbers blest,
This is the Amulet, hereby
No Ills their Tombs molest.

Mr. Abell.

Nor was the Use of Myrtle less common; whence Euripides introduces *Electra* complaining that *Agamemnon's* Tomb had never been adorn'd with Boughs of that Plant,

Ἀγαμέμνωνος ὃ τύμβος ἡπιατρυφός
Οὐ πώποτε ἔχους, ἔ κλῶνα μυρσίνης
ἔλαζε.——

(a) Philostratus Heroicis. (b) Theophrastus lib VI. φυτικῶς, Athenæus lib. XIV. (c) *Æneid* V. v. 79. (d) *Æneid* VI. v. 88.

Ne'er with *Libations* and *Myrtle-boughs*
Were my dear Father's *Manes* gratify'd.

In short, Graves were bedeck'd with Garlands of all sorts of Flowers, as appears from *Agamemnon's* Daughter in *Sophocles* (a);

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθον πατρὸς ἀρχαῖον τάφον,
Ὀρῶ κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας νεορρύντας
Πηγὰς γάλακτος, καὶ πᾶσι περὶ κύκλῳ
Πάντων ὅσ' ὄσιν ἀνθέων θνήσκω πατρός.

No sooner came I to my Father's Tomb,
But *Milk* fresh pour'd in copious Streams did flow,
And Flow'rs of ev'ry sort around were straw'd.

These were commonly call'd *ἔρωτες* (b), either from their Design to express *Love* and Respect to the deceas'd Person; or from *ἔρανος*, because they were usually compos'd of a *Collection* of several sorts of Flowers; or from *ἐρα*, as being lay'd upon the *Earth*; tho' neither of these last Reasons are constant, for the Garlands were sometimes compos'd of only one sort of Flowers, and frequently hung upon the Pillars, and not lay'd upon the Grave-stone. Several other Things were frequently plac'd upon Graves; as Ribbands, whence 'tis said that *Epaminondas's* Souldiers being disanimated at seeing the Ribband that hung upon his Spear carry'd by the Wind to a certain *Lacedemonian* Sepulchre, he bid them take courage, for that it portended Destruction to the *Lacedemonians*, it being customary to deck the Sepulchres of their Dead with Ribbands (c). Another Thing dedicated to the Dead, was their Hair; *Electra* in *Sophocles* says that *Agamemnon* had commanded her and *Chrysothemis* to pay him this Honour,

Ἡμεῖς δὲ πατρὸς τύμβον, ὡς ἐφίετο,
Αὐτοῦσι ποσῶτον καὶ καρπύμοις χλιδαῖς
Στεφαντες. —

With *Drink-off'rings*, and *Locks* of *Hair* we must,
According to his *Will*, his *Tomb* adorn.

Canace in *Ovid* (d) bewails her Calamity in that she was not permitted to adorn her Lover's Tomb with her Locks, as has been already observ'd.

(a) *Electra* v 286. (b) *Phavorinus*, *Etymologici* Auctor. (c) *Eroptinus*, lib. I. cap. II. (d) *Epist. Canac.* ad *Macar.*

It was likewise customary to perfume the Grave-stones with sweet Ointments; to which Practice *Anacreon* has this Allusion,

Τί σ' εἰ δίδον μυρίζων;
Τί δ' γὰρ χέειν μάταια;
Εμὲ μάλλον, ὥς ἐπὶ ζῶν,
Μύειτον, ἔσθ' οἷς δὲ κράτα
Πύκτον. —

Why do we precious Ointments show'r,
Nobler Wines why do we pour,
Beauteous Flow'rs why do we spread
Upon the Mon'ments of the Dead?
Nothing they but Dust can shew,
Or Bones that hasten to be so,
Crown me with Roses while I live.

Mr. Cowley.

Whence *Leonidas* seems to have borrow'd the Sence of this Epigram,

Μὴ μύρα, μὴ στεράνεις λιθίναις σήλαισι χρίεις,
Μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξης, εἰς κενὸν ἢ σαπάνη·
Ζῶντί μοι, εἴ τι θέλεις, χρίεσαι· τέφρῳ δὲ μεθύσκων
Πυλὸν ποιήσεις, ἔχ' ὁ θανόν τίεται.

When cold and lifeless in my Grave I'm lay'd,
No fragrant Oyl then pour, no Chaplets spread:
All expiatory Fires, all Rites are vain,
Wine only can my fruitless Ashes stain:
Come, let's carouse, let's revel while we live,
'Twill elevate our Souls, 'twill Ease to Troubles give.

Mr. Abell.

To these Practices we find another added, viz. running naked about Sepulchres; for *Plutarch* (a) tells us, that *Alexander*, arriving at *Troy*, honour'd the Memories of the Heroes bury'd there with solemn Libations, anointed *Achilles's* Grave-stone, and (according to ancient Custom) together with his Friends ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crown'd it with Garlands.

Beside the foremention'd Ceremonies, there remain several others, especially their Sacrifices, and Libations to the Dead: The Victims were black and barren Heifers, or black Sheep, as being of the same sort with those offer'd to the Infernal Gods to denote the Contrariety of those Regions to Light and Fruitfulness;

(a) *Alexandro.*

Whence *Homer* introduces *Ulysses* making a vow to the Ghosts after this manner (a);

Πολλὰ δ' ἄν γένεμιν νεκύων ἀμενιυὰ κάρηνα,
 Ελθὼν εἰς Ἰθάκην στήραν βῶν ἥ τις αἶψῃ
 Ρέξειν ἐν μεγάροισι, πυρρὺν τ' ἐμπλησμένον ἑδλῶν.
 Τειρεσίη δ' ἀπάνευθεν οἶν ἐξελόμενον οἶω
 Παμμέλαν', ὃς μήλοισι μεταφρέπει ἡμετέροισι.

A barren Cow to all the Pow'rs below
 I did with solemn Protestation vow,
 If e'er I should again my Lordship see
 After the perilous Wand'rings on the Sea,
 Their Altars then I likewise swore to load
 With Fruits and other Off'rings as were good:
 But the best of our black Rams I cou'd choose
Tiresias I promis'd with chaste Vows.

Mr. Abell.

Beside their offering these Sacrifices in Ditches, and some other Customs spoken of in one of the former Books (b), it may be observ'd farther, that the first Thing they offer'd was the Hair upon the Victim's Fore-head, which for that reason was term'd ἀπαρχαί, and to offer it ἀπαρχόμεναι: But however these Terms are sometimes us'd for the Sacrifices of the Ghosts, yet the Custom of offering these First-fruits was common to the Sacrifices of the Celestial and other Deities, as appears from several Instances: *Homer* mentions it at one of *Minerva's* Sacrifices (c);

Πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη
 Εὔχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τεύχεας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον.

Having invok'd *Minerva* with his Pray'rs,
 He on the Altar threw the Fore-head Hairs.

In another Place he speaks of it as acceptable to all the Gods (d);

Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τεύχεας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον
 Ἀργεΐδοντος ὕδης, καὶ ἐπύχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι.

Of a Sow's Fore-head having burn'd the Hairs,
 To all the Gods He offers fervent Pray'rs.

(a) *Odyss.* x. v. 29; (b) *Lib.* II. cap. IV. (c) *Odyss.* γ'. (d) *Iliad.* ξ'.

But their ordinary Offerings were nothing but Libations of Blood, Honey, Wine, Milk, Water, &c. Upon which they commonly sprinkled Barly-flower. Some of these are mention'd in Homer (a),

Χοὰς χέομεν πάσι νεκύεσσιν·
Πρῶτα μελικήτωρ, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδὲι οἶνον,
Τὸ τεῖτον αἶθ' ὕδατι· ὅπῃ δ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ πάλων.

We did with Reverence the Shades adore,
We first did Honey mix'd with Water pour,
Then Wine, then simple Water, and next Barly-Flow'r.

They were design'd to render the Ghosts kind and propitious, and therefore term'd *χοαὶ νεκωπῆες*, or *δελκτῆες*. Iphigenia in Euripides thus describes them (b),

Ω, τὰς δὲ
Χοὰς μέλαια, κρατῆρά τε
Τῶν φθιμένων
Υδραίνειν χάρις ἐν νότοις,
Πηγὰς τ' ἐρείων ἐκ μύχων,
Βάκχας τ' οἰνηρὰς λοιβάς,
Ξανθὰν τε πόννημα μελισσῶν,
Α νεκροῖς δελκτῆες καὶ
τ'.

To whom I in this sacred Chalice bear
These solemn Liquids as an Offering,
This Blood in crimson Streams shall stain the Ground,
With Wine, and th' Product of the sed'ious Bee
The common Peace-atonement for the Dead.

Mr. Abell.

These were sometimes offer'd upon Altars, which were commonly plac'd near the ancient Sepulchres, with Tables for the sacrificial Feasts; sometimes they were pour'd forth upon the Ground, or Grave-stone, and, together with a certain Form of Words, offer'd to the Deceas'd. Thus Helena desires Hermione to address Clytemnestra in her Name (c);

Ω τέκνον, ἔξελθ', Ερμῖονη, δῶμων πάρος,
Καὶ λάβε χοὰς τὰς δ' ἐν χερσίν, κόμας τ' ἐμαῖς,
Ελθῶσα δ' ἀμφὶ τ' Κλυταιμνήστρας τάφον

(a) Odyss. x. v. 26. (b) Iphigen. Tauric. v. 159. (c) Euripid. Orestes-v. 112.

Μελίκρατ' ἄρ' εἰς γάλακτος, οἶνωπὸν τ' ἄχνω,
 Καὶ εἴτ' ἐπ' ἄκρα χόματις λέξον τάδε,
 " Ελένη σ' ἀδελφῇ τῷτδε δαρεῖται χοαῖς.

Daughter *Hermione*, come forth and take
 These Off'rings to thy dear Aunt's Sepulchre,
 These *Locks* of my *Hair*, and this *Honey mix'd*
 With *Milk*, and this *Wine* to pour o'er her Grave,
 Which having done, stand on it's Top, and say,
 " Thy Sister *Helen* to declare her Love
 " Offers these Rites to thy dear Memory.

Mr. Abell.

The Water thus employ'd was term'd *λατρεὶν*, *χένιον*, *λουτρὸν*, and at *Athens* *σπέννυμα* (a). When Persons dy'd that had been marry'd, there was a Custom for certain Women to carry Water to their Graves, who from pouring it forth were term'd *ἐσχυτρίστραι* (b). When a young Man, or Maid dy'd, the Water was carry'd by a Boy (c), or (which to some may appear more probable) by a Boy to the Sepulchres of young Men, by a Maid to the Sepulchres of Maids, whence came the Custom of erecting Images representing Maids with Vessels of Water upon the Sepulchres of such as dy'd in their Virginity, as was observ'd in the fore-going Chapter, tho' I have there interpreted this Custom so as to agree with the former Opinion. As for those that dy'd in their Infancy, they were honour'd with no Libations, nor had any right to the rest of the Funeral Solemnities (d).

These Honours were pay'd the Dead the ninth and thirtieth Days after Burial (e), and repeated when any of their Friends arriv'd, that had been absent at the Solemnity, and upon all other Occasions that requir'd their surviving Relations to have them in memory. But some Part of the Month *Antheſterion* seems to have been especially set apart for these Ceremonies in several of the *Grecian* Cities. *Athenens* reports in particular of the *Apolloniæ* (f), that they pay'd the Dead the customary Honours in this Month: *Hesychius* (g) likewise reports, that the same Custom was observ'd at *Athens*, and that they term'd the Days appointed for these Solemnities *μικραὶ ἡμέραι*, which were by others call'd *σπορῳάδες* (h), as being polluted by their Dedication to the Dead, whose Ghosts were thought to ascend from their subterraneous Habitations, to enjoy the kind Entertainment of their Friends (i); the want hereof was thought a great Calamity, and therefore is reckon'd by *Cassandra* amongst

(a) *Eustathius* *Odys.* α'. (b) *Etymologici* *Auctor*. (c) *Idem*. (d) *Plutarchus* liber consolat. ad uxorem. (e) *Tollux* lib. III. cap. X. (f) *Διπύρορ*. lib. VIII. (g) *Voce* *Μικρά*. (h) *Suidas*. (i) *Lucianus* *Επιτοκαστίη*.

the manifold Misfortunes of the Trojans, that they should have no surviving Friends to offer Sacrifices at their Tombs,

Οὐδὲ πρὸς ταῖσι
Ἐδ' ὅστις αὐτῶν αἷμα γῇ δαρήσεται.

Nor shall one Friend remain
To stain their desert Sepulchres with Blood.

Upon these publick Days they call'd over the Names of all their dead Relations one by one, excepting such as dy'd under Age, or forfeited their Title to these Honours by dissipating their paternal Inheritances, or other Crimes. There was likewise another Time, when they call'd over the Names of the Dead, which, being omitted in the fore-going Chapters, I shall speak of in this Place: It was when they lost their Friends in foreign Countries, whence before they departed they call'd the Names of all that were missing out of their Company three times: Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* declares he did, when he lost some of his Men in a Battle with the *Cicones* (a);

Οὐδ' ἄρα μοι προτέρω νῆες κίον ἀμφιέλιαι,
Πεῖν πνα τ' δειλῶν ἐτάρων τοῖς ἔχουσιν αὖται,
Οἱ δάνον ἐν πεδίῳ Κικόνων ὑποθιόδεντες.

My high-built Ships I launch'd not from the Shore,
A better Fate and Voyage to explore,
'Till I had singly thrice call'd o'er my Friends,
Who by *Ciconians* came t' untimely Ends.

Mr. Abell.

Hercules in *Theocritus* calls *Hylas* three times (b);

Τεῖς μὲν Τλαν αὔσεν ὅσον βαδὺς ἤρυγε λαίμω.
His much lov'd *Hylas* perish'd in the Floud
He call'd on thrice as loud as e'er he cou'd.

The Reasons of this Custom were, according to *John Tzetzes* (c), partly, that such as were left behind might upon hearing the Noise repair to their Ships; and partly to testify their Unwillingness to depart without their Companions;

Τὸ πρῶτον τὸς θνήσκοντας εἰς γλῶτ' ἀλλοτρίαν
Ἀποδημῶντες οἱ αὐτῶν σειωτάκας ἀνεκάλαν,

(a) *Odyss.* i. v. 64. (b) *Idyll.* 12. v. 58. (c) *Chiliad.* v. Hist. XIV.

Ὡς Ομηρος ἐδίδαξε βίβλῳ τῇ Οδυσσεύας·
 Τοῦτο δ' ἔδρων ὥς μνήμονες πύχαινοντες φίλιας,
 Καὶ ὥς δ', εἰ ἀπολείφθῃ τις, πρὸς τὸ φανῶν σὺνδράμοι.

It was a Custom 'mongst all ancient *Greeks*,
 That He, who, trav'ling into foreign Parts,
 Did dy, should by surviving Friends be call'd
Thrice, as a Token of their mutual Love,
 Hence all that were alive then joyn'd their Voice,
 As *Homer* in his *Odyssey* attests.

Mr. *Abell*.

To return, they had anniversary Days, on which they pay'd their Devotions to the Dead: These were sometimes term'd *Νεμέσια*, as being celebrated upon the Festival of *Nemesis*, who was thought to have especial Care for the Honours of the Dead (a); sometimes *Ωρῆα* (b), as also *Γενέσια* (c), the reason of which Name seems to be, that it signifies the anniversary Day of a Man's *Nativity*, which after his Death was solemniz'd with the same Ceremonies, that were us'd upon the Anniversary of his *Death* (d), which was properly term'd *Νεκύσια*: Hence it is, that these two Words are commonly thought to signify the same Solemnity.

The Honours of the Dead were distinguish'd according to the Quality and Worth of the Person, they were conferr'd on. Such as by their Vertues, and publick Services had rais'd themselves above the common Level, had *ἡρωικὰς τιμὰς*, the Honours of Heroes; the Participation hereof was term'd *ἀνιγεῖν*, or *τετυχέναι* *τιμῇ* *ἡρωικῇ*, *ισοθέον*, or *ισοκυμπίων*. Others, that had distinguish'd themselves from the former, were rais'd a Degree higher, and reckon'd among the Gods, which Consecration was term'd *θεοποίησις*, and was very different from the former; to worship the former Persons being only term'd *ἐντολίζειν*, but the latter *θεύειν*. The later Honour was very rare in the Heroick Times, but in subsequent Ages, when great Examples of Vertue were not so frequent, and Men more addicted to Flattery, it became more cheap; insomuch that those Persons, whom former Ages had only worship'd as Heroes, were afterwards accounted Gods; an Instance whereof we have (to omit several others) in *Lampisac*, one of *Plutarch's* Heroines (e). The *Athenians* are especially remarkable for immoderate and profuse Distributions of these Ho-

(a) *Moschopulus*, *Suidas*. (b) *Hesychius*, *Phavorinus*. (c) *Suidas*, &c. (d) *Suidas*, *Hesychius*, *Phavorinus*, *Moschopulus*, &c. (e) *Lib. de Mulierum claris factis*.

nours, and it is generally observ'd that that Nation exceeded all the rest of the *Grecians* in the Arts of Flattery and Superstition, as appears from several Instances in the precedent Books.

I shall observe in the last Place, that these and the rest of the Honours of the Dead were thought most acceptable, when offer'd by their nearest Friends; when by their Enemies, were rejected with Indignation: Whence *Sophocles* introduces *Electra* advising her Sister *Chrysothemis*, that she should by no means offer *Chryamnestra's* Gifts to *Agamemnon* (a),

Αλλ', ὦ φίλη, τέτων μὲν, ὃν ἔχεις χερσίν,
Τύμβῳ προσέψης μηδέν· ἔ γάρ σοι δέμης,
Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐχθρῶς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἰσάναι
Κτερίσματ', ἐδὲ λυστὰ προσφέρειν πατρὶ.

Dear Sister, don't attempt his Tomb t' approach
With a Delign of offering those Gifts;
Since the Infernal Manes do detest,
As heinous, Rites pay'd by an Enemy.

Mr. Abell.

For Men were thought to retain the same Affections after Death, which they had entertain'd when alive. This appears farther from the Story of *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, *Oedipus's* Sons; who, having kill'd each other in single Combat, and being burn'd in the same Pile, the Flames of their Bodies would not unite, but by parting from each other demonstrated the irreconcilable and immortal Hatred of the Brethren, as we are inform'd by *Bianor's* following Epigram;

Οἰδῖποδος παίδων· ὅθι τάφος, ἀλλ' ὁ παρώλης
Τύμβῳ ἐπ' ζώντων αἰδάνετ' αἰδράτων·
Κείνους ἐτ' αἰδῶς ἐδαμάσασατο, κῆν Ἀχέροντι
Μάρανται, κείνων γὰρ τάφος ἀντὶ πάρος.
Καὶ πυρὶ πῦρ ἤλεγξαν ἐναντίον· ὃ ἐλεενοὶ
Παῖδες, ἀκοιμήτων ἀψόμενοι δράττων.

Within thy Walls, O *Thebes*, two Brothers lie,
Who, tho' deceas'd, cease not their Enmity;
For from their Bodies on the Pile do fly,
Enrag'd Corpuscles jussling in the Sky,
With pointed Fury eagerly they meet,
Then in Aversion scornfully retreat,

(a) *Electra* v. 432.

Unhappy Youths, by th' Fates deny'd to have
The peacefull Slumbers of a quiet Grave.

Mr. Abell.

Lycophron has furnish'd us with the parallel Example of *Mopsus* and *Amphilochus*, who, having slain each other, were bury'd in the opposite Sides of an Hill; lest their Ghosts should be disturb'd by having their Sepulcres within sight of one another (a);

Αἶψος δ' ἀλίσφατος ὄχμος ἐν μεταυχμῷ
Μέγαρτος ἀγνῶν ἡρώων σάθῃται,
Ὡς μὴ βλέπωσι, μηδὲ νερέτερον ἔδρας
Διώτες, φόνον λυδέντας ἀλλήλων τάφους.

An high and craggy Mount *Megarsus* nam'd
Shall stand amidst the sacred Monuments,
Lest the griev'd *Manes* should offended be
To see each other's Tomb by Slaughter stain'd.

Mr. Abell.

CHAPTER IX.

Of their Love of Boys.

WHO it was that first introduc'd the Custom of loving Boys into Greece, is uncertain: However (to omit the infamous Amours of *Jupiter*, *Orpheus*, *Lajus* of Thebes, and others) we find it generally practis'd by the ancient *Grecians*, and that not only in private, but by the publick Allowance and Encouragement of their Laws: For they thought there could be no means more effectual to excite their Youth to noble Undertakings, nor any greater Security to their Common-wealths, than this generous Passion. This the Invaders of their Liberties so often experienc'd, that it became a receiv'd Maxim in the Politicks of Tyrants, to use all their Endeavours to extirpate it out of their Dominions; some Instances whereof we have in *Athenens* (b). On the contrary, free Common-wealths, and all those States, that consulted the Advancement of their own Honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing Laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a view of some few of them.

First we shall find it to have been so generally practis'd, so highly esteem'd in *Crete*, that such of their well-born and beauti-

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 443. (b) *Lib.* XIII.

ful Youths as never had any Lovers, incur'd the publick Censure, as Persons some way or other faulty in their Morals; as if nothing else could hinder, but that some one's Affections would be plac'd upon them. But those that were more happy in being admir'd, were honour'd with the first Seats at publick Exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing Badge of Honour, a sort of Garment richly adorn'd; this they still retain'd after they had arriv'd to Man's estate, in memory they had once been *κλεινοί*, *eminent* (a), for that was the Name the *Cretans* gave to Youths that had Lovers, the Lovers themselves were call'd *φιλήτορες*. One Thing was remarkable in this Place, that the Lovers always took their Boys by force; for having plac'd their Affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his Relations, and withal certify'd them what Day they design'd to take him: If the Lover was unworthy of the Boy, they refus'd to yield him up; but if his Quality and Virtues were answerable, they made some slight Opposition to satisfy the Law, and pursu'd him to his Lodgings, but then gave their consent: After this the Lover carry'd the Boy whither he pleas'd, the Persons that were present at the Rape, bearing him company; he entertain'd him some time, two Months at the farthest, with Hunting, and such Diversions, then return'd him home: At his Departure, 'twas order'd by Law, that the Boy should receive a Suit of Armour, an Ox and a Cup, to which the Lover usually added out of his own Bounty several other Presents of value. The Boy, being return'd home, sacrific'd the Ox to *Jupiter*, made an Entertainment for those that had accompany'd him in his Flight, and gave an account of the Usage he had from his Lover, for in case he was rudely treated, the Law allow'd him Satisfaction (b). 'Tis farther affirm'd by *Maximus the Tyrian*, that during all the Time of their Converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the strictest Laws of Virtue pass'd between them (c); and however some Authors are inclin'd to have hard Thoughts of this Custom, yet the Testimonies of many others, with the high Characters given by the Ancients of the old *Cretan* Constitutions, by which it was approv'd, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false Imputations: The same is put beyond Dispute by what *Sirabo* tells us (d), that 'twas not so much the external Beauty of a Boy, as his virtuous Disposition, his Modesty, and Courage, that recommended him.

From the *Cretans* pass we to the *Lacedemonians*, several of whose Constitutions were deriv'd from *Crete*. Their Love of Boys was remarkable all over *Greece*, and for the whole Conduct and excellent Consequences of it every where admir'd. There was no such Thing as Presents pass'd between the Lovers, no foul Arts

(a) *Sirabo* lib. X. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Dissert.* X. (d) *Loc. cit.*

were us'd to insinuate themselves into one another's Affections; their Love was generous and worthy the *Spartan* Education; it was first entertain'd from a mutual Esteem of one another's Virtue, and the same Cause, that first inspir'd the Flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it. It was not tainted with so much as a Suspicion of Immodesty; *Agestaus* is said to have refus'd so much as to kiss the Boy he lov'd (a), for fear of Censure: And if a Person attempted any Thing upon a Youth beside what consisted with the strictest Rules of Modesty, the Laws (however encouraging a virtuous Love) condemn'd him to *Disgrace* (b), whereby he was depriv'd of almost all the Privileges of free Denizens. The same Practice was allow'd the Women towards their own Sex, and was so much in Fashion among them, that the most stay'd and virtuous Matrons would publicly own their Passion for a modest and beautiful Virgin (c), which is a farther Confirmation of the Innocency of this Custom. *Maximus* the *Tyrian* (d) assures us the *Spartans* lov'd their Boys no otherwise than a Man may be enamour'd with a beautiful Statue, which he proves from what *Plutarch* (e) likewise reports, that tho' several Mens Phanisies met in one Person, yet did not that cause any Strangeness, or Jealousy among them, but was rather the Beginning of a very intimate Friendship, whilst they all joyntly conspir'd to render the belov'd Boy the most accomplish'd in the World: For the End of this Love was, that the young Men might be improv'd in all virtuous and commendable Qualities, by conversing with Men of Probity and Experience; whence the Lover and the Belov'd shar'd the Honour and Disgrace of each other; the Lover especially was blam'd if the Boy offended, and suffer'd what Punishment was due to his Fault (f); *Plutarch* has a Story of a *Spartan* fin'd by the Magistrates, because the Lad, whom he lov'd, cry'd out effeminately, whilst he was fighting (g). The same Love continu'd, when the Boy was come to Man's estate; he still preserv'd his former Intimacy with his Lover, imparted to him all his Designs, and was directed by his Counsels, as appears from another of *Plutarch's* Relations concerning *Cleomenes*, who, before his Advancement to the Kingdom, was belov'd by one *Xenares*, with whom he ever after maintain'd a most intimate Friendship, 'till he went about his Project of new modelling the Common-wealth, which *Xenares* not approving departed from him, but still remain'd faithful to him, and conceal'd his Designs (h).

If we pass from *Sparta* to *Athens*, we shall find that there *Solon* forbid Slaves to love Boys, making that an honourable Action, and as it were inviting (these are *Plutarch's* (i) Words) the wor-

(a) *Plutarchus* Apophthegm. (b) *Xenophon* de Rep. Lacod. *Plutarchus* Institut. Laconic. (c) *Plutarchus* Lycurgo. (d) Dissert. X. (e) *Lycurgo*. (f) *Aelian*. Var. Hist. lib. XIII. (g) *Lycurgo*. (h) *Plutarchus* Cleomene. (i) *Solone*.

thy to practice, what he commanded the unworthy to forbear. That Law-giver himself is said to have lov'd *Pisistratus* (a), and the most eminent Men in that Common-wealth submitted to the same Passion. *Socrates*, who dy'd a Martyr for disowning the Pagan Idolatry, is very remarkable for such Amours, yet seems not whilst alive to have incurr'd the least Suspicion of Dishonesty; for what else could be the Cause, that, when *Callias*, *Thrasymachus*, *Aristophanes*, *Anytus* and *Melitus*, with the rest of his Enemies, accus'd him for teaching *Critias* to tyrannize, for Sophistry, for contempt of the Gods, and other Crimes, yet never so much as upbraided him with impure Love, or for writing, or discoursing upon that Subject. And tho' some Persons, especially in later Ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the Practice of the old *Grecians*, have call'd in question the Philosopher's Virtue in this Point, yet both he, and his Scholar *Plato* are sufficiently vindicated from that Imputation by *Maximus* the *Tyrian* (b), to whom I refer the Reader. The Innocency of this Love may farther appear from their severe Laws enacted against immodest Love, whereby the Youths, that entertain'd such Lovers, were declar'd *infamous*, and render'd incapable of publick Employments, and the Persons that prostituted them condemn'd to dy; several other Penalties were likewise order'd to deter all Men from so heinous and detestable a Crime, as appears from the Laws of *Athens* describ'd in one of the fore-going Books (c).

Many other Examples of this nature might be produc'd, but I shall only instance in one more: It shall be taken from the *Thebans*, whose Law-givers, *Plutarch* tells us (d), encourag'd this excellent Passion to temper the Manners of their Youth. Nor were they disappointed of their Expectation, a pregnant Evidence whereof (to omit others) we have in the *ἱερὰ φάλαγγ*, or sacred Band; it was a Party of three hundred chosen Men, compos'd of Lovers and their Belov'd, and therefore call'd *sacred*; it gain'd many important Victories, was the first that ever overcame the *Spartans* (whose Courage 'till then seem'd irresistible) upon equal Terms, and was never beaten 'till the Battle at *Charonea*; after which King *Philip* taking a view of the Slain, and coming to the Place, where these three hundred, who had fought his whole *Phalanx*, lay dead together, he was struck with Wonder, and understanding that 'twas the Band of Lovers, he said weeping, *Let them perish, who suspect that these Men either did, or suffer'd any Thing base.*

Before I conclude this Chapter, it may be necessary to observe, that the Lover was call'd by the *Spartans* *ἑσπνιλος*, *ἑσπνιλος*,

(a) *Ideem loc. cit.* (b) *Dissert. VIII, IX, X, XI.* (c) *Lib. I. p. 161, 162.*

(d) *Pelopida.*

or, as others write it, εἰσπνήλης; the Belov'd was term'd by the Thesbians αἴτης. Thus Theocritus (a);

Δοῖα δὴ πνε πάδε μετ' ἀμφοτέρωσι θυέσθην
Φῶς· ὁ μὲν ὡς εἰσπνήλος, φαίνε χά' μυκλαῖσδων·
Τὸν δ' ἔτερον πάλιν ὥς κεν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι δῖταν.

The Greek Scholiast derives both the Names παρὰ τὸ ἢ ἐρώμενον εἰσαίνειν καὶ εἰσπνεῖν ἢ ἐρωτα παρὰ ἀγαπῶντι, from the Lover's being inspir'd with Affection by his Belov'd, and other ancient Grammarians agree with him herein.

CHAPTER X.

Of their Customs in expressing their Love, their Love-potions, Incantations, &c.

LOVERS had several ways of discovering their Passion, and expressing the Respect they had for their Belov'd. Every Tree in the Walks they frequented, every Wall of their Houses, every Book they us'd, had inscrib'd upon it the belov'd Name with the Epithet of καλὴ, or καλός. Whence Lucian (b), relating a Story of one desperately in Love with Venus Cnidia, after other Expressions of his Passion, adds that there was never a Wall, or Tree, but what proclaim'd ἀφροδίτῃ καλὴ, VENUS FAIR. Callimachus's Lover has the same Phantasy, only that he wishes his Mistress's Name written on Leaves, if we may credit the Scholiast upon Aristophanes (c),

Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοις κεκομμμένα πάντα φέρειν
Γράμματα, Κυδίππῳ ὥς ἐρέωσι καλλιῷ.

May the kind Trees on Leaves such Letters bear
As shall proclaim my dear Cydippe FAIR.

'Twas in Allusion to this Practice, that one in Euripides declar'd he should never entertain a good Opinion of the Female-sex, tho' the Pines in Mount Ida were fill'd with their Names (d). Aristophanes had an Eye to the same Custom, when, jesting upon an old Athenian, that was mightily in love with deciding Causes, he

(a) Idyll. 16. v. 12. (b) Amator. (c) Acharn. (d) Eustathius Iliad. 5. p. 490. Edit. Basil.

says that upon every Place he writ κημός καλός, which Word signifies the Cover of the judiciary Urn (a),

— Αν ἴδῃ γὰρ πρὸς γερραμύθον
Τὸν Πυειλάμπας ἐν θυγατρὶ Δῆμον καλόν,
Ἰὼν παρέρχασθαι πλοῖον Κημός καλός.

Lovers usually deck'd the Doors of their Belov'd with Flowers and Garlands; for thinking the Persons their Affections were plac'd on, to be the very Image of the Deity of Love, their House could be no less than Cupid's Temple (b), which was accusom'd to receive those Honours. From the same Original they seem'd to have deriv'd that other Custom of making Libations before their Mistresses Doors, and sprinkling them with Wine; of which we have mention in the Scholiast upon Aristophanes (c), where he reports that many of the Thessalian Gentlemen were in love with the beautifull Nais, and publickly own'd their Passion by sprinkling the Doors of her House with Wine.

When a Person's Garland was untty'd, it was taken for a Sign of being in love (d); and for a Woman to compose a Garland was another Indication of her Passion (e),

— Εὐνὴν τις πλέκη
Γυνὴ σέφαρον, ἔρᾳν δοκεῖ.

The wreathing Garlands in a Woman is
The usual Symptom of a Love-sick Mind.

They had several Methods of discovering whether their Love would prove successfull, that of the κόπτεος was very frequent at Entertainments, and may perhaps be describ'd in a following Book. Two other ways we have in Theocrinus (f),

Εγὼν πρὶν, ὅκα μεν μενναμύθω εἰ φιλέεις με,
Οὐδὲ τὸ τμήριον ποτεμάξατο τὸ πλατήγημα,
Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπαλῶ ποτὶ πᾶχι' ἐξεμαράνθῃ
Εἴτε ἢ Ἀγροῖω τάλαντα κοσινόμεναι,
Ἀ πρὶν πειρολογέσας, παραβάπτε, ἐνέκ' ἐγὼ μὲν
Τὴν ὅλος ἔγκειμαι, τὸ δὲ μεν λόγον εἰδέναι ποιῶ.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove,
Whether I should be happy in my Love;

(a) Vespius. (b) Athenæus lib. XV. (c) Plutarch Ag. I. Sc. I. (d) Athenæus lib. cit. (e) Aristophanes Thesmophor. (f) Idyll. III. v. 28.

I press'd the *Long-live*, but in vain did press,
 It gave no lucky Sound of good Success:
 To *Agrio* too I made the same demand,
 A *cunning* Woman she, I cross'd her Hand;
 She turn'd the *Sieve* and *Sheers*, and told me true,
 That I shou'd love, but not be lov'd by you.

Mr. Creech.

Both these Customs I have already describ'd in one of the precedent Books (a), which the Reader may consult.

When their Love was without Success, they had several Arts to procure the Affections of their Belov'd. The *Thessalian* Women were famous for their Skill in this as well as other Magical Practices. The means, whereby it was effected, were of divers sorts: It was sometimes done by Potions call'd *φίλτρα*, which are frequently mention'd in Authors of both Languages. *Juvenal* speaks thus (b),

*Hic magicos affert cunctis, hic Thessala vendit
 Philtra, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti.*

This Pedlar offers Magick Charms, the next
Philtra, by which the Husband's Mind's perplex.

Their Operations were violent and dangerous, and commonly depriv'd such as drunk them of their Reason. *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos* report, that *Lucullus* the Roman General first lost his Reason, and afterwards his Life by one of them; *Lucretius* the Poet ended his Life the same way, and *Cains Caligula* (as *Suetonius* reports) was driven into a Fit of Madness by a *Philtra* given him by his Wife *Cæsonia*; which Story is mention'd by the same Poet (c),

*Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
 Ex furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
 Cui totam tremuli frontem Cæsonia pulli
 Infudit.*

Some nimbler Juyce would make him foam and rave,
 Like that *Cæsonia* to her *Cains* gave,
 Who, plucking from the Fore-head of the Fole
 His Mother's Love, infus'd it in the Bowl.

Mr. Dryden.

Ovid likewise assures us, that this was the usual Effect of these Potions,

*Nec data profuerint pallentia philtra puellis,
 Philtra nocent animis, vimque furoris habent.*

(a) Lib. II. cap. XVIII. p. 319. (b) Satir. VI. v. 609. (c) Loc. cit.

All pois'nous Drugs, and Necromantick Arts
Ne'er move the scornfull Maids relentless Hearts,
They but distract the Senses, seize the Brain,
And Venus Rites and Mysteries profane.

Mr. Abell.

The Ingredients they were made up of were of several sorts, divers of which apply'd by themselves were thought effectual. Some of the most remarkable were these that follow:

Hippomanes, a Piece of Flesh upon the Fore-head of Colts new-foal'd, of a black or brown Colour, in Bigness and Shape like a Fig, which the Mares bite off as soon as they have foal'd, but, if they be prevented, forsake their Offspring: Whence it was thought a prevalent Medicine to conciliate Love, especially when reduc'd to Powder, and swallow'd with some Drops of the Lover's Blood. 'Tis frequently mention'd by the Writers of Natural History; *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Columella*, with many others have thought it worth their Notice: The Poets are full of it's Effects; whence *Dido* in *Virgil* (to omit other Instances) has recourse to it, when pretending to recall *Aeneas* to her Affection (a),

*Quæritur & nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
Et matri præreptus amor.*————

She from the Fore-head of a new-foal'd Colt
Th' excrescent Lump doth seek.————

The same Word is frequently taken in another Sence, and is describ'd by *Pliny* to be *virus distillans ab inguine equæ coitum maris appetentis, & in furorem agens*. This was no less powerfull than the former, as appears from *Pausanias's* Story of a Horse's Statue dedicated by one *Phormis* an *Arcadian*, which, being infected by a Magician with the *Hippomanes* I am speaking of, so enrag'd all the Stone-horses that paid that Way, that they would break their Bridles in Pieces, and throw their Riders, to come at it (b), and could not without great Difficulty and many Stripes be forc'd from it. Several of the Poets speak of it's Effects; *Ovid* (c),

*Scit bene quid gramen, quid torto conceita rhombo
Licia, quid valeat virus amantis equæ.*

She knows the Vertue of each Herb to move
The latent Seeds of a coy Lady's Love,
She knows the Rhomb, what Feats in Magick are
From th' pois'nous Issue of a lustfull Mare.

Mr. Abell.

(a) *Æneid*. IV. v. 515. (b) *Eliac. æ'*. prope finem. (c) *Lib. I. Eleg. VIII.*

Virgil will have it to proceed from *Lusitanian* Mares impregnated by the Wind (a),

*Continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis
Vere magis (quia vere calor redit ossibus) illæ,
Ore omnes versæ in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
Exceptantque leves auras; & sepe sine ullis
Conjugiis, vento gravidæ (mirabile dictu)
Saxa per, & scopulos, & depressas convalles
Diffugiunt; non, Eure, tuos, neque solis ad ortus,
In Boream, Casumque, aut inde nigerrimus Ausfer
Nascitur, & pluvio contristat frigore cælum.
Hinc demum, Hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt
Pastores, lentum distillat ab inguine virus,
Hippomanes, quod sepe male legere novercæ,
Miscueruntque herbas, & non innoxia verba.*

When at the Spring's approach their Marrow burns,
(For with the Spring their genial Heat returns)
The Mares to Cliffs of rugged Rocks repair,
And with wide Nostrils snuff the western Air:
When (wondrous to relate) the parent Wind
Without the Stallion propagates the Kind:
Then fir'd with am'rous Rage they take their flight
Thro' Plains, and mount the Hills unequal Height;
Nor to the North, nor to the rising Sun,
Nor Southward to the rainy Regions run,
But boring to the West, and hov'ring there,
With gaping Mouths they draw prolifick Air,
With which Impregnate from their Groins they shed
A slimy Juice by false Conception bred;
The Shepherds know it well, and call'd by Name
Hippomanes, to note the Mother's Flame:
This, gather'd in the planetary Hour
With noxious Weeds, and spell'd with Words of Pow'r
Dire Stepdames in the magick Bowl infuse,
And mix for deadly Draughts the pois'nous Juice.

Mr. Dryden.

The same Story is attested by *Aristotle*. Others make *Hippomanes* to be a Plant in *Arcadia*, but very powerfull in producing the foremention'd Effects (b),

Ἰππομανὲς φυτόν ἐστι παρ' Ἀρχαίοις τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι
καὶ πᾶσι μάλινονται ἐν ᾧ ἄρεα, καὶ δοαὶ ἵπποι.

(a) *Georgic*. III. 271. (b) *Idyll*. C. v. 48.

Ως καὶ Δέλφιν ἴδοιμι καὶ ἐς τοῦδε δῶμα περιῆται
Μαινομένην ἵκελον, λιπαρὰς ἔκτοδε παλαίτρας.

Hippomanes, a Plant *Arcadia* bears,
This makes Steeds mad, and this excites the Mares;
And oh! that I could see my *Delphid* come
From th' *only* Fencing-house so raving home.

Mr. Creech.

Ιουλις, is the Name of a small Bird, the *Latin* of which is not agreed on; some translate it *passerculus*, others will have it the same with *torquilla*, *frunilla*, or with *regulus*. This Bird the Writers of Fables tell us (a) was once the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pisbo*, or *Echo*, and, having inveigled *Jupiter* into *Jo's* Love, was transform'd by *Juno*; Upon this she became the Darling of *Venus*, and, retaining the same Inclinations she had formerly, still serv'd to promote the Affairs of Love: The first Time the Goddess made use of her was in the *Argonautick* Expedition, when she invented Love-magick, with Charms, and Potions, a chief Ingredient whereof was this Bird, which she communicated to *Jason* to gain him Access to *Medea's* Affections: Hence *Pindar* (b),

Μαινάδι ὄρνιν Κυπεργέμενα φέρειν
Πρῶτον ἀνδρώποισι, λιτάς τ' ἔπαισι-
δάς ἐκδιδάσκεισεν σφδὸν Αἰσονίδαν·
Ὅρα Μυδείας τοκέων ἀρέλαιοι-
τ' αἰδῶ. ———

The Goddess *Venus* first disclos'd the Use,
To *Jason* first the magick Charm display'd,
Told how the Bird wou'd fire the Maid,
And glowing Love into her Breast infuse;
Nor Duty, nor parentall Love shou'd bind,
Too weak and feeble is that Force;
When *Jynx* steers the Lover's Course,
A safe Admittance he is sure to find.

Mr. Hutchin.

The Part most valu'd by Enchanters, was the Tongue, which they look'd on as having a sovereign Virtue in Love-potions: Sometimes they fasten'd the whole Bird to a Wheel of Wax, which they turn'd over the Fire 'till both were consum'd, thus inflaming the Party, in whom they had a mind to create Love. Others

(a) *Suidas*, *Isacius Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem* v. 310. ubi Commentarius noster adendum. (b) *Pythion*. Qd. IV.

there are, that will have *ἰνυξ* to signify nothing but a musical Instrument, and some take it for all sorts of Allurements.

To these may be added several Herbs, and Insects bred out of putrid Matter, with other Animals, such as the Fish call'd *ἰχθυίς*, or *remora*; the Lizard, with another not much unlike it call'd *stellio* and *stincus*, the Brains of a Calf, the Hair upon the Extremity of a Wolf's Tail, with some of his secret Parts, the Bones of the left Side of a Toad eaten by Ants, for these were thought to generate Love, whereas those on the right Side caus'd Hatred. Others took the same Bones, when the Flesh was devour'd by Ants, and cast them into a Vessel of Water, wherein those that sunk, being wound up in a white linnen Cloath, and hung about any Person, inflam'd him with Love, the others with Hatred. Other Parts of the Toad were us'd in poysonous Compositions; whence *Juvenal* (a),

At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetæ.

But now with poy'snous Entrails of a Toad
They urge their Husbands Fate.

To these others add the Blood of Doves, the Bones of Snakes, Scritch-owls Feathers, Bands of Wool twisted upon a Wheel (which were very much us'd on these Occasions, for their Resemblance to the soft Tyes of Love) especially such as had been bound about one that hang'd himself; some of these are mention'd by *Propertius* (b),

*Improba non vicit me moribus illa, sed herbis,
Stamine & à rhombi ducitur ille rota;
Illum turgentis rane portenta rubetæ,
Et lecta è sectis anguibus ossa trahunt,
Et strigis inventæ per busta jacentia plumæ,
Cinctaque funesto lanea vitta viro.*

Were there to Merits but a due Regard,
I shou'd not fear my Rival's being preferr'd;
But she, too conscious of my pow'rfull Charms,
By Spels, and Magick tears him from my Arms:
The poy'snous Bones of swelling Toads she takes,
And mingles them with those of crested Snakes;
Then strait where Owls frequent she doth repair,
And picks their scatter'd Feathers up with Care;
Next she procures some fatal woollen Band,
That late bound him that dy'd by his own Hand:

(a) Sat. VI. v. 653. (b) Lib. III. Eleg. V.

Thus, what her Merits can't, her magick Charms
His frozen Breast with am'rous Fire warms.

Mr. Huchin.

Several other of the Ingredients of Love-potions are mention'd
in *Lælius's* Verses cited by *Apuleius* (a),

*Philtrea omnia undique erunt,
Antipathes illud quæritur,
Trochisci, iynge, iæniæ,
Radiculæ, herbæ, surculi,
Auræ ilices, bichordilæ,
Hinnientium dulcedines.*

From ev'ry Part they magick Draughts procure,
For that much-fam'd *Antipathes* they seek,
Pills, Fillets, and those love-enforcing Birds,
Roots too, and banefull Herbs, and sappy Sprigs,
With scarlet Oaks, and the *Hippomanes*.

Other sorts of Ingredients were Rags, Torches, and, in short,
all Relicks, and whatever had any relation to dead Corpses, or
Funerals. Sometimes a Nest of young Swallows was plac'd in a
convenient Vessel, and bury'd in the Earth, 'till they were fa-
mish'd; then they open'd the Grave, and such of them, as were
found with Mouths shut, were thought conducive to allay the
Passion of Love, but the rest, which perish'd with Mouths gaping
for Food, were thought to excite it. To the same end they us'd
Bones snatch'd from hungry and ravenous Bitches, which were
believ'd to derive some Part of the eager Desire of those Animals
into the Potion: Hence *Horace* gives us this elegant Description
of an Enchantress's Practices (b),

*Canidia brevibus implicata viperis
Crines & incommum caput,
Iubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
Iubet cupressos funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova rane sanguine,
Plumamque nocturnæ strigis,
Herbasque, quas & Iolchos, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta jejune canis,
Flammis aduri Colchicis.*

(a) Apolog. (b) Epod. V. v. 14.

Canidia then do's for the Charm prepare,
 And binds with Snakes her uncomb'd Hair:
 Maid, speed she cries, and pillage ev'ry Tomb,
 Bring Cypress, and wild Fig-tree home;
 Let Eggs first steep'd in Blood of Toads be sought;
 And Feathers from the Scritch-owl brought;
 Bring ven'mous Drugs such as *Tolchos* yields,
 And Poyson from *Iberian* Fields;
 Bring Bones from Jaws of hungry Bitches torn,
 And those I'll seeth, and those I'll burn,
 As first *Medea* did inform.

Mr. Hutchin.

To these they added another Ingredient more powerfull than any
 of the rest, which the Poet has thus describ'd in the same Ode (a),

*Abacta nulla Veja conscientia,
 Ligonibus duris humum
 Exhaustiebat ingemens laboribus;
 Quo posset infossus puer
 Longo die bis ierve mutatae dapis
 Inemori spectaculo,
 Cum promineret ore, quantum exstant aqua
 Suspensa mento corpora;
 Exsucta mi medulla, & aridum jecur
 Amoris esset poculum,
 Inmerminato cum semel fixæ cibo
 Intabuisse pupula.*

Veja, who ne'er Remorse of Conscience felt,
 Nor blush'd at her own horrid Guilt,
 Toils at the Spade, and digs the fatal Pit,
 In which th' unhappy Lad she set;
 Where choicest Dainties long as Life shou'd last
 Oft feast his Eyes, deny'd his Taste,
 Just o'er the Brim appears his sickly Head,
 As their's, who in the Rivers wade:
 That there his Marrow drain'd and Liver dry
 Might with Love-potions her supply;
 As soon as e'er his fainting Eye-balls shew'd
 Approaching Fate for want of Food.

Mr. Hutchin.

Let us pass now to some other Arts they had of exciting Love:
 Some thought the Udder of an *Hyana* ty'd about their left Arm

a good Expedient to entice to their Affections any Woman they fix'd their Eyes on: Others took πίτυρα, a sort of small and hard Olives, or (as others interpret it) Barley-bran, which either by it self, or made up in Past, they cast into the Fire, hoping thereby to inspire the Flames of Love: Hence *Simætha* in *Theocritus* (a),

Νῦν θυσὼ τὰ πίτυρα. ———

Now I strew the Barley-bran.

Sometimes they us'd ἀλφίτα, or Flower, which the *Scholiast* upon *Theocritus* will have term'd θυλήματα. That Poet has describ'd this Custom, when he introduces his Enchantress thus calling out to her Maid (b);

Αλφίτᾳ τοι παρῶτον πνεῖ τάκεται· ἀλλ' ἐπίπασε,
Θέσυλι δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπιπύτασαι;
Ἡ γὰρ γέ τοι, μυστρά, καὶ πὺν ὀπήχαρμα τέτυλμαι;
Πᾶσ' ἄμα, καὶ λέγε τῶτα, τὰ Δελφίδος ὅσα πάσῃ.

First burn the Flow'r, then strew the other on,
Strew it; how? where's your Sence and Duty gone?
Bale *Thestylis*, and am I so forlorn,
And grown so low, that I'm become your Scorn?
But strew the Salt, and say in angry Tones
I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's Bones.

Mr. Creech.

Instead of Bran, or Flower, 'twas usual to burn Lawrel, as we learn from the same Enchantress, who proceeds thus,

Δέλφιδ' ἔμ' ἀνίασεν, ἐγὼ δ' ὅπῃ Δελφίδι δάφναν
Αἶθω· χ' ὥς αὐτὰ λακίει, μέγα καπυρίσασα,
Κήξαπίνης ἄρδῃ, καὶ δὲ σπυρδὸν εἶδομεν αὐτῆς,
Οὕτω τοι καὶ Δέλφιδ' ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάρκ' ἀμαθυσσοί.

First *Delphid* injur'd me, he rais'd my Flame,
And now I burn this Bough in *Delphid's* Name;
As this doth blaze, and break away in Fume,
How soon it takes! let *Delphid's* Flesh consume.

Mr. Creech.

'Twas likewise frequent to melt Wax, thereby to mollify the Person's Heart, whom they desir'd: Hence she goes on,

(a) V. 33. (b) Ibid. v. 18.

Ως ῥῶτον ἢ κερὲν ἐνὶ πυρὶ δαίμονι τάκω,
ὣς τάκοιδ' ἔα' ἔρωτος ὁ Μυῦδος αὐτῆς Δέλφης.

As this devoted Wax melts o'er the Fire,
Let Myndian Delphis melt with soft Desire.

Sometimes they plac'd Clay before the Fire together with Wax, that, as one melted whilst the other harden'd, so the Person that then rejected them might have his Heart mollify'd with Affection, and enflam'd with Desire, whilst their own became hard and unrelenting; or that his Heart might be render'd incapable of any Impression from other Beauties, but easy of Access to themselves: This seems to be *Virgil's* meaning in the first of the following Verses, the later two contain some of the Customs before describ'd out of *Theocritus*,

*Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquefit,
Uno eodemque igni; sic nostro Daphnis amore:
Spargere molam, et fragiles incende bitumine lauros;
Daphnis me malus irit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum (a).*

As Fire this Figure hardens made of Clay,
And this of Wax with Fire consumes away,
Such let the Soul of cruel *Daphnis* be
Hard to the rest of Women, soft to me.
Crumble the sacred Mole of Salt and Corn,
Next in the Fire the Bays with Brimstone burn,
And, whilst it crackles in the Sulphur, say,
This I for Daphnis burn, thus Daphnis burn away.

Mr. Dryden.

It was customary to imitate all those Actions, they had a mind the Person they lov'd should perform: They turn'd a Wheel round, praying he might fall down before their Doors, and rowl himself on the Ground. Thus *Theocritus's* Enchantress,

Χ' ὥς δινεῖδ' ὅδε ἑβέλος ὁ χαλκεος, ἐξ ἀρεθίτας
ὣς κείνος δινεῖτο ποδ' ἀμετράων θύραιων.

And, *Venus*, as I whirl this brazen Wheel,
Before my Doors let perjur'd *Delphid* rowl.

We are told that it has been usual to compose an Image of Wax, and, calling it by the Name of the Person to be inflam'd with Love, to place it near the Fire, the Heat whereof affected the Image,

and the Person represented by it at the same Time (a). *Virgil's*
Enchantress speaks of drawing it three Times round the Altar,

Terque hæc altaria circum
Effigiem duco.

Thrice round this Altar I the Image draw.

She had before taken care to have it bound, thereby to intimate the
tying his Affections,

Terna tibi hæc primum triplici diversa colore
Licia circumdo.

Three Threads I of three different Colours bound
About your Image.

It was not unfrequent to sprinkle enchanted Medicaments upon
some Part of the House where the Person resided: Thus *Thocri-*
us's Enchantress commands,

Θέσφι, νῦν δὲ λαβοῖσα τὰ τὰ θρόνα τῶνδ', ὑπόμαζον
Τὰς πῆγας φιλᾶς καὶ θυπέττειν, ἃς ἐπ' αὖ νῦν
Ἐκ θυμῶν δέδωκα· (ὃ δὲ μὲν λόγον ἔδωκα ποιεῖν)
Καὶ λέγ' ἐπὶ τῶνδ' αἰσῶν, τὰ Δελφίδος ἔσται πάσσιν.

Now take these Poysons I procure you more,
And strew them at the Threshold of his Door, that I
That Door where villent Love hath fix'd thy Mind,
Tho' he regards not, cruel and unkind!
Strew them, and spitting say in angry Tones,
I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's Bones.

Mr. Creech.

If they could get into their Hands any Thing that belong'd to
the Person, whose Love they desir'd, it was of singular Use: The
same Enchantress burns the Border of *Delphis's* Garment, that the
Owner might be tortur'd with the same Flame,

Τὴν ὑπὸ τὰς χλαῖνας τὸ κράσπεδον ὥλεσε Δέλφης,
Ὡγὼ νῦν πύλοισα κατ' ἀγρίῳ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω.

This Piece from dear false *Delphid's* Garment torn
I tear again, and am resolv'd to burn.

(a) *Wierus* lib. V. c. XI.

Virgil's Enchantress deposits her Lover's Pledges in the Ground underneath her Threshold,

*Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
Pignora cara sui; que nunc ego limine in ipso,
Terra, tibi mando; debent hæc pignora Daphnin.*

These Garments once were his, and left to me,
The Pledges of his promis'd Loyalty;
Which underneath my Threshold I bestow,
These Pawns, O sacred Earth, to me my *Daphnis* owe.

Mr. Dryden.

The Design of which Action seems to be the retaining her Lover, and securing his Affection from wandering.

Virgil has thus describ'd another Method in the Nymph's Command to her Woman,

*Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti,
Transque caput jace; ne respexeris: His ego Daphnin
Aggrediar, nihil ille Deos, nil carmina curat.*

Bear out these Ashes, cast them in the Brook;
Cast backwards o'er your Head, nor turn your look;
Since neither Gods, nor God-like Verse can move,
Break out, ye smother'd Fires, and kindle smother'd Love.

Mr. Dryden.

I shall only trouble you with one expedient more, which was their tying *Veneréal* Knots to unite the belov'd Persons Affection with their own,

*Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores;
Necte, Amarylli, modo; & Veneris, dic, vincula necto.*

Knit with three Knots the Fillets, knit them streight;
And say, *These Knots to Love I consecrate.*

Her Caution about the Number of Knots is observable, for most of their Actions in these Rites were confin'd to the Number three; *Theocritus's* Enchantress is no less exact in this Circumstance,

Es τρίς ὁσπίνδω, καὶ τρίς τρίς, πέννια, φανῶ.

Thrice, thrice I pour, and thrice repeat my Charms.

Virgil has assign'd the Reason hereof to be the Pleasure the Gods were thought to take in that Number,

Numero

—Numero Deus impar gaudet.

Unequal Numbers please the Gods.

Whether this Phancy owe it's Original to the suppos'd Perfection of the Number three, because, containing a Beginning, Middle, and End, it seems natural to signify all Things in the World; whether to the Esteem the *Pythagoreans*, and some other Philosophers had for it, on the account of their *Trinity*; or, lastly (to mention no more Opinions) to it's Aptness to signify the Power of all the Gods, who were divided into three Classes, Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal, I shall leave to be determin'd by others: Thus much is certain, that the Ancients thought there was no small Force and Efficacy in unequal Numbers; whence we find *Vegetius* advising, that the Ditches round Encampments should be at the least nine Feet in breadth, at the most seventeen, but always of an unequal Number (*a*); Shepherds are likewise advis'd to take care that the Number of their Sheep be not even (*b*); but the Number three was acceptable to the Gods above all others, whence we find three *Fatal Sisters*, three *Furies*, three Names and Appearances of *Diana* according to the Poet,

—*Tria Virginis ora Dianæ.*

Three different Forms do's chaste *Diana* bear.

The Sons of *Saturn*, among whom the Empire of the World was divided, were three; and for the same reason we read of *Jupiter's fulmen*, *trifidum*, *Neptune's Trident*, with several other Tokens of the Veneration they had for this Number.

Many of their other Practices were the same with those us'd at common Incantations: The Charm, or Form of Verses, had little Difference beside the proper Application to the present Occasion; *Virgil's* Nymph speaks of her Verses as of the same sort, and endow'd with the same Efficacy as *Circe's*;

—*Nihil hic nisi carmina desunt:*

Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin;
Carmina vel calo possunt deducere Limam,
Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssæi,
Erigidus in præis cantando rumpitur anguis.

—We want but Verse, restore, my Charms,
My ling'ring *Daphnis* to my longing Arms;

(a) Lib. III. cap. VIII. (b) Geoponic. lib. XVIII.

Pale *Phæbe* drawn by Verse from Heav'n descends,
And *Circe* chang'd with Charms *Ulysses's* Friends,
Verse breaks the Ground, and penetrates the Brake,
And in the winding Cavern splits the Snake.

Mr. Dryden.

And the Herbs and Minerals us'd in other magical Operations,
were no less sought for in this, there being in them (as 'twas
thought) some wonderfull Powers, which were equally prevalent
in all supernatural and miraculous Effects: Whence we find *Vir-
gil's* Nymph alluring *Daphnis* to her Love by the very same Me-
dicaments, which *Maris* had found effectual in performing other
magical Feats,

*Has herbas, atque hec Ponto mihi lecta venena
Ipse dedit Moeris; nascuntur plurima Ponto;
His ego sepe lupum fieri, & se condere silvis
Moeris, sepe animas imis excire sepulcris,
Atque fatas alio vidi traducere menses.*

These poy's'nous Plants for magick Use design'd
(The noblest, and the best of all the banefull Kind)
Old *Maris* brought me from the *Pomick* Strand,
And cull'd the Mischief of a bounteous Land:
Smear'd with the pow'rfull Juices on the Plain
He howls a Wolf among the hungry Train;
And oft the mighty Necromancer boasts,
With these to call from Tombs the stalking Ghosts:
And from the Roots to tear the standing Corn,
Which, whirl'd aloft, to distant Fields is born.

Mr. Dryden.

The Gods likewise (to mention no more Instances of their Agree-
ment) were the same that superintended all magicall Arts, as we
learn from *Theocritus's* *Simaisa*, who is introduc'd invoking the
Moon and *Hecate* to her Assistance,

— Αλλὰ, Σελήνα,
Φαῖνε κελόν, πῇ γ' ὁ ποταίεσμαι ἄσυχ' αἰῶνα,
Τῶ χθονία δ' ἔχ' ἄτα, τὴν κ' οὐρανὸς ἀρομένην
Εἰρηνομένην νεκρῶν ἀνὰ τ' ἡέρα, κ' μέλαρ αἶμα,
Χαῖρ', ἔχ' ἄτα δακρυῶν, κ' ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπάδεις,
Φάρμακα ταῦτ' ἐρδισι χερσίνονα μὴτε π' Κίρκης,
Μὴτε π' Μινδείας, μὴτε ξανθὰς Πειριχίδας.

— Moon, shine bright and clear,
To thee I will direct my secret Pray'r;

To thee and *Hecate*, whom Dogs do dread
When stain'd with Gore she stalks amidst the Dead:
Hail, frightfull *Hecate*, assist me still,
Make mine as great as fam'd *Medea's* Skill.

Mr. Creech.

Thus far concerning their Arts in exciting Love. It may be enquir'd in the next place, whether they had any means to allay the Passion, when once rais'd: Now it appears, that it was common to set the Patient at liberty by the Help of more powerfull Medicaments, or *Dæmons* superiour to those that had bound him; whence we find *Canidia* in *Horace* complaining, that all her Enchantments were render'd ineffectual by Art superiour to her own,

*Quid accidit? cur dira barbaræ minus
Venena Medæ valent,
Quibus superba fugit ultra pellicem,
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, rabo munus imbutum, novam
Incendio nuptiam abstulit?
Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum:
Ah, ah, solutus ambulat venesicæ
Scientioris carmine.*

*He who wrote this is a
dng so life
con teneffible blackguard*

Am I so serv'd? my base degrading Charms,
Shall *Colchos* foster greater Harms?
What! shall the Present spell'd with magick Rage,
Medea's vengefull Breast assuage;
Since the fallacious Gift to Flames is turn'd,
And her unhappy Rival burn'd?
Then what am I? there's not an Herb doth grow,
Nor Root, but I their Vertues know
And can the craggy Places shew:
Yet *Venus* flights my Love, above my Pow'r,
And sleeps on Rosy Beds secure;
Ah! much I fear some Rival's greater Skill
Defends him from my weaker Spell.

Mr. Huchin.

But Love inspir'd without the Assistance of Magick scarce yielded to any Cure: *Apollo* himself could find no Remedy against it, but is introduc'd lamenting in these Words (a),

(a) *Ovid, Metam, l. v. 521.*

*Inventum medicina meum est, opiferaque per orbem
Dicor, & herbarum est subiecta potentia nobis;
Hei mihi! quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis,
Nec profunt domino, quæ profunt omnibus, artes.*

Med'cine is mine, what Herbs, and Simples grow
In Fields and Forests, all their Pow'rs I know,
And am the great Phyfician call'd below;
Alas! that Fields and Forests can afford
No Remedies to heal their love-sick Lord!
To cure the Pains of Love no Plant avails,
And his own Phyfick the Phyfician fails.

Mr. Dryden.

The same Poet professes in another Place, that no Art was ever able to set a Lover at Liberty (a);

*Nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas
Nec fugiet virvo sulphure victus amor.
Quid te Phasiacæ jurerunt gramina terræ,
Cum cuperes patria, Colchi, manere domo?
Quid tibi profuerunt, Circe, Perseides herbæ,
Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates.*

Not all the Pow'r of Verse with Magick joyn'd
Can heal the Torture of a love-sick Mind;
Altars may smoak with expiatory Fire,
Too weak to make a well-fix'd Love retire,
Love by Repulse still works the Passion higher.
What help, *Medea*, did thy Potions yield?
Not all the Drugs that stock'd the *Colchian* Field,
Cou'd Ease to your distracted Breast afford,
When forc'd from home you lov'd the foreign Lord:
Nor greater the Relief that *Circe* found,
When left by her *Ulysses* homewards bound,
Nor Herbs, nor Poysons cou'd her Grief allay,
When envious Blasts had stol'n her Dear away.

Mr. Huchin.

But notwithstanding the Difficulty of of this Cure, there is not wanting Variety of Prescriptions adapted to the several Causes and Occasions of the Malady; as appears from the old Nurse's Words to *Myrrha* desperately in Love (b),

(a) De remedio amoris. (b) Metam. X. v. 397.

*Sen furor est, habeo que carmine sanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, magico lustrare ritu:
Ira Deum sive est, sacris placabilis ira.*

Madness by sacred Numbers is expell'd,
And Magick will to stronger Magick yield:
If the dire Wrath of Heav'n this Fury rais'd,
Heav'n is with Sacrifice, and Pray'r appeas'd.

Mr. Hopkins.

The Antidotes may be reduc'd to two sorts; they were either such as had some natural Vertue to produce the design'd Effect; such are *agnus castus*, and all the Herbs reputed Enemies to Generation (a): Or, secondly, such as wrought the Cure by some occult and mystical Power, and the Assistance of *Dæmons*; such are the sprinkling of Dust wherein a Mule had rowl'd her self (b), the tying Toads in the Hide of a Beast lately slain (c), with several others mention'd by *Pliny*; amongst which we may reckon all the Minerals and Herbs, that were look'd on as Amulets against other Feats of Magick, for those were likewise proper on such Occasions: Whence the Poets usually mention *Caucasus*, *Colchis*, and other Places famous for Magical Plants, as those which alone could furnish Remedies and Antidotes against Love: I shall only set down one Instance, wherein the Poet, enquiring what should be the Cause his Mistress had forsaken him, puts this Question among others (d),

*An que
Læta Prometheus dividit herba jugis.*

What! do those odious Herbs, the Lover's Bane,
Growing on *Caucasus* produce this Pain?

By *Prometheus's* Mountain he means *Caucasus*, which was remarkable for Herbs of sovereign Power, that sprung out of *Prometheus's* Blood.

The Infernal Gods were call'd upon for Assistance, as may be learn'd from *Virgil's Dido*, who signifies her pretended Design to dispell the Remains of her Love for *Æneas* in these Words (e),

*Sacra Jovi Stygio, quæ rite incepta paravi,
Perficere est animus, sinemque imponere curis,
Dardaniq[ue] rogam[us] capitis perminere flammæ.*

(a) Vide *Archæolog.* hujus lib. II. cap. III. (b) *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. XXX. cap. XVI. (c) *Idem* lib. XXXII. cap. X. (d) *Propert.* lib. I. Eleg. XII. (e) *Æneid.* IV. v. 638.

Thus will I pay my Vows to Stygian Jove,
And end the Cares of my disastrous Love,
Then cast the Trojan Image on the Fire,
And, as that burns, my Passion shall expire.

Mr. Dryden.

Silius introduces *Anna*, *Dido's* Sister, telling how she had endeavour'd to render the same Gods propitious (a),

*Nigro forte Jovi, cui tertia regna laborant,
Aque attri socie thalami nova sacra parabam,
Quaeis agram mentem, & trepidantia corda levaret
Infelix germana tori.* —

To grisly Jove of Hell I Off'rings paid,
And to the swarthy Consort of his Bed,
In pity of my love-sick Sister's Grief,
And in Assurance of a blest'd Relief,
To charm her Cares to sleep, her Fears to rest,
And still the Tumults of her troubled Breast.

Mr. Abell.

Not long before the same Person, relating how the Diviners assayed to restore *Dido* to her right Mind, says, they invoc'd the Gods of *Night* (whereby she means the Shades below) to aid them,

*Hec ! sacri vatum errores, dum numina Noctis
Eliciunt, spondentque novis medicamina curis.*

O soothing Priest-craft ! O the close Disguise
Of Cheat, Imposture, and well-varnish'd Lyes !
With a pretended Zeal the Shades they implore,
The Gods of *Night* demurely they adore,
With promis'd Cures they gull our easy Minds,
A solemn Vow their holy Knave binds.

Mr. Abell.

I shall only mention one Expedient more, whereby they cur'd themselves of Love : 'Tis the Water of *Selemmus*, a River that falls into the Sea near *Argyra* in *Achaia* : The Story is thus ; *Selemmus*, a beautifull young Shepherd in those Parts, was belov'd by *Argyra*, the Nymph, from whom the Town and Fountain of that Name were call'd ; but, the Flower of his Age being over, the Nymph deserted him, upon which he pin'd away, and was transform'd into a River by *Venus* ; after this he still retain'd his for-

mer Passion, and (as the *Patrensiens* report) for some time convey'd his Waters thro' a subterraneous Passage to *Argyra's* Fountain, in the same manner that *Alpheus* was said to joyn himself with *Arethusa*, 'till by *Venus's* Favour the Remembrance of her was caus'd to vanish quite out of his Mind: Hence it came to pass, that as many as wash'd themselves in this River, were made to forget their Passion: Thus *Pausanias* (a).

Thus much concerning their Love. I am not ignorant, that Enlargements might be made in every Part of this Chapter; but what has been said will (I hope) be sufficient to satisfy the Reader's Curiosity without trespassing too far upon his Patience.

CHAPTER XI.

Of their Marriages.

THE first Inhabitants of *Greece* liv'd without Laws and Government, no Bounds were prescrib'd to their Passions, their Love (like the rest of their Desires) was unconfin'd, and promiscuous Mixtures, because forbidden by no human Authority, were publickly allow'd. The first that restrain'd this Liberty was *Cecrops*, who, having rais'd himself to be King over the People afterwards call'd *Athenians*, amongst many other usefull Constitutions, introduc'd that of Marriage (b). Others refer the Honour of this Institution, together with the Invention of Dancing, to *Erato* one of the Muses; but some rather understand that Story of the Marriage-solemnity, the regular Conduct whereof, they say, was first order'd by *Erato*. However that be, it was in some time receiv'd by all the *Grecians*; for no sooner did they begin to reform their salvage and barbarous Course of Life, and joyn themselves in Towns and Societies, but they found it necessary to confine the unruly Lusts of Men by establishing lawfull Marriage, with other Rules of good Manners.

Marriage was very honourable in several of the *Grecian* Commonwealths, being very much encourag'd by their Laws, as the abstaining from it was discountenanc'd, and in some Places punish'd: For the Strength of States consisting in their Number of People, those that refus'd to contribute to their Increase, were thought very cold in their Affections to their Country. The *Lacedemonians* are very remarkable for their Severity against those that differ'd Marrying, as well as those who wholly abstain'd from it (c):

(a) *Achaicis* p. 442. & 445. Edit. Hanov. (b) Vide *Archæolog. hujus lib.* 1. cap. II. (c) *Stobæus* LXV. de laude Nuptiarum.

No Man among them could live without a Wife beyond the Time limited by their Law-giver without incurring several Penalties; as first, the Magistrates commanded such once every Winter to run round the publick Forum naked; and to encrease their Shame they sung a certain Song, the Words whereof aggravated their Crime, and expos'd them to Ridicule. Another of their Punishments was to be excluded from the Exercises, wherein (according to the *Spartan* Custom) young Virgins contended naked (a). A third Penalty was inflicted upon a certain Solemnity, wherein the Women dragg'd them round an Altar, beating them all the Time with their Fists (b). Lastly, they were depriv'd of that Respect and Obedience, which the younger sort were oblig'd to pay to their Elders; and therefore, saith *Plutarch* (c), no Man found fault with what was said to *Dercyllidas*, a great Captain, and one that had commanded Armies, who coming into the Place of Assembly, a young Man, instead of rising and making room, told him, Sir, you must not expect that Honour from me being young, which cannot be return'd to me by a Child of yours when I am old. To these we may add the *Athenian* Law (d), whereby all that were Commanders, Orators, or intrusted with any publick Affair, were to be marry'd, and have Children, and Estates in Land; for these were look'd on as so many Pledges for their good Behaviour, without which they thought it dangerous to commit to them the Management of publick Trusts.

Polygamy was not commonly tolerated in Greece, for Marriage was thought to be a Conjunction of one Man with one Woman, whence some will have *γαμος* deriv'd *παρὰ τὸ δύο ἅμα εἶναι*, from two's becoming one. When *Herodotus* reports that *Anaxandridas* the *Spartan* had two Wives, he remarks that it was contrary to the Custom of *Sparta* (e): The rest of the *Grecian* Cities did, for the most part, agree herein with the *Lacedemonians*; only upon some emergent Occasions, when their Men had been destroy'd by War, or other Calamities, Toleration was granted for Marrying more Wives; an Instance whereof we have at *Athens* in *Enripides*'s Time, who, as some say, conceiv'd an hatred against the whole Sex, for which he is famous in Story, by being harass'd with two Wives at once (f); *Socrates* is said to have been marry'd to *Xantippe* and *Myrto* at the same time (g), and *Athenaeus* concludes it was then reputed no Scandall, because we never find any of his Enemies casting it in his Teeth (h); but some think the Matter of Fact may be justly call'd in question.

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (b) *Athenaeus* lib. XIII. (c) Loc. citat. (d) *Dionysius* in *Demosthenem*. (e) Lib. V. (f) *Gellius* Noct. Attic. lib. XV. cap. XX. (g) *Diogenes Laërtius* *Socrate*. (h) Lib. XIII.

The Time of Marriage was not the same in all Places, the *Spartans* were not permitted to marry 'till arriv'd at their full Strength (a); and tho' I do not find what was the exact Number of Years they were confin'd to, yet it appears from one of *Lycurgus's* Sayings, that both Men and Women were limited in this Affair, which that Law-giver being ask'd the reason of it, said his Design was that the *Spartan* Children might be strong and vigorous. The *Athenian* Laws are said once to have requir'd that Men should not marry before thirty-five Years of Age. But this depended upon the Humor of every Law-giver, nothing being generally agreed to in the Matter; *Aristotle* thought thirty-seven a good Age, *Plato* thirty, and *Hesiod* was much-what of the same Judgment, for thus he advises his Friend,

Ωραίος ὃ γυνῆα τεὸν ποτὶ οἶκον ἀγαδαι,
Μάτε τριηκόντων ἔτιαν μάλ᾽ πολλ' ἀπολείπων,
Μήτ' ὀψιπῆς μάλ᾽ ἀπολλ᾽· γάμος δὲ τοι ὤκειος ἔστος (b).

The Time to enter on a marry'd Life
Is about *Thirty*, then bring home your Wife;
But don't delay too late, or wed too young,
Since Strength and Prudence to this State belong.

Mr. *Abell*.

Women marry'd sooner than Men; some of the old *Athenian* Laws permitted them to marry at twenty-six, *Aristotle* at eighteen, *Hesiod* at fifteen,

Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτορ' ἡδῶν, πέμπτῃ ὃ γαμοῖτο (c).

A Wife when fifteen choose, then let her wed
I'th' Prime for *Hymen's* Rites, for th' Joys of th' marriage Bed.

Where the Poet advises that Women be permitted to grow to Maturity in four Years, i. e. four after ten, and marry in the fifth, i. e. the fifteenth: Others think he means they must continue unmarried four Years after their Arrival at Woman's estate, i. e. at fourteen Years, and marry in the fifth, i. e. the nineteenth. But as the Women were sooner marriageable than Men, so their Time was far shorter, it being common for Men to marry much older than Women could expect to do, as *Lyfistrate* complains in *Aristophanes* (d),

ΑΥ. Πιεὶ τῶνδε κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκυῶν ἀνιῶμαι.

ΠΡ. Οὐκὲν γ' ἀνδρὲς γηράσκουσιν; ΑΥ. Μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἐκ εἵπας ὁμοιον,

(a) *Xenophon* de Repub. *Lacedem.* (b) *Erg.* 2. *Ημερ* 6'. 313. (c) *Ibid.* 316.
(d) *Lyfistrate.*

Ο γὰρ ἦκον μὲν, καὶ ἡ πόλις, ταχὺ παῖδα κόρην γεγάμηκεν.
 Τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς μικρὸς ὁ χειρὸς, καὶν ἔστω μὴ πλάσῃται
 Οὐδὲν ἔδεται γῆραι ταύτῃ, ὅπως μὲν δὲ κείνηται.

LY. It's some Concern to me, when I reflect

On the poor Girls, that must despair of Man,
 And keep a stale and loath'd Cœlibacy.

PR. What? ha'n't the Men the same hard Measures then?

LY. Oh! no, they have a more propitious Fate,
 Since they at fixty, when their Vigor's past,
 Can wed a young and tender Spouse to warm
 Their aged Limbs, and to repair their Years:
 But Women's Joys are short and transient,
 For, if we once the golden Minutes miss,
 There's no recalling, so severe's our Doom;
 We must then long in vain, in vain expect,
 And by our Ills forewarn Posterity.

Mr. Abell.

The Times or Seasons of the Year most proper of Marriage were, according to the *Athenians*, some of the Winter-months, especially *January*, which for that reason is call'd *γαμηλιών* (a). Hence the Person in *Terence*, the Scene of whose Fable is laid in *Greece*, affirms the Soothsayers had forbidden to enter upon Matrimony 'till Winter (b),

*Aruspex venit ante brumam autem quid novi
 Negotii incipere.*

Until the seasonable Time of Year,
 When frosty Weather binds all Things, the Priest
 Counsell'd us by all means to put off Marriage.

The most convenient Season was when there happen'd a Conjunction of the Sun and Moon, then they celebrated their Festival call'd *Θεογάμια*, or Marriage of the Gods (c). *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides*, having ask'd *Agamemnon* when he design'd to give *Iphigenia* in Marriage to *Achilles*, he answers, that the full Moon was the fittest Time,

Όταν σιελῶνς ἐν πυρὶς ἔλθῃ κύκλος (d).

When the full Moon darts forth her lucky Raies.

(a) *Olympiodorus* in *Meteora* *Aristoreli*, *Eustathius* in *Iliad*. σ'. (b) *Phormions*. (c) *Hesiodi Scholiastes* *Ημέρ.* (d) *Iphigen.* in *Aulid* v. 717.

Themis in *Pindar* advises that *Thetis* be marry'd to *Peleus* in the same Season (a), for by *διχομηνίδες ἑσπερας* he means the full Moon, which happens in the Middle of *Lunar* Months, which were us'd in the old *Grecian* Computations: The Poet's Words run thus,

— — — — — Ἐν διχομηνίδοισι
Δὲ ἑσπεράς, ἑρατὸν
Λύσι κεν χαλινὸν ὕ-
-φ' ἥρωι παρθένας.

When crescent *Phæbe* is about to shine
In a full Orb with radiant Light,
Then may he marry, then may she invite
The Hero both their Loves to joyn,
Then let them blend, and tye, their Joys, their *all* combine.
Mr. *Abell*.

This Custom seems to have proceeded from an Opinion they had of the Moon's Power in Generation. Some prescribe other Days; *Hesiod* thinks the fourth most convenient, because (as one of the *Scholiasts* observes) it was dedicated to *Venus* and *Mercury* (b),

Ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ μῶνός ἀγαθὰ ἐς οἶκον ἀκοίτιν,
Οἰωνὸς κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἔργματι τέτρω ἀεισοί.

On the fourth Day of the Moon's Age your Wife
Bring home to enter on the Cares of Life,
But first take heed your self to certify
In the respective Signs of Augury.

Mr. *Abell*.

The sixteenth, or, as some, the eighteenth, is mention'd as most unfit of all others (c),

Ἐκτι δ' ἢ μέσση μάλ' ἀσύμφορός ἐστι φυτοῖσιν,
Ἀνδρογόνος τ' ἀγαθὴ, κέρη δ' ἐ σύμφορός ἐστιν
Οὔτε θύεσθαι θεῶν, ἔτ' ἀρ γάμος ἀνθρώποισι.

What ever Trees you plant the sixteenth Day,
They'll never thrive, but wither and decay,
But if your Wife's deliver'd of a Son,
His Life with lucky Prospects is begun;

(a) *Isthm. Od.* 4. p. 751. Edit. Benediſt. (b) *Ημ.* p. v. 36. (c) *V.* 18.

But

But *Girls*, if born, or marry'd now, will see
Their Years annoy'd with *Woe* and *Misery*.

Mr. *Abell*.

Several other Days were look'd on as favourable, or otherwise, in this and all other Affairs, which it would be too tedious to enumerate in this Place.

Most of the *Greeks* look'd on it as scandalous to contract within certain Degrees of Consanguinity: *Hermione* in *Euripides* speaks of the Custom of Brethren's marrying their Sisters with no less Detestation than of Sons marrying their Mothers, or Fathers their Daughters (a),

Τοῖσιν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος.
Πατὴρ τε θυγατρί, πῶς τε μητρί μίγνυται,
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ. Ἀλλὰ φόνος δ' οἱ φίλτατος
Χαρῶσι· καὶ τὸ ἐξέν γ' ἐξεργαίει νόμος.

Such Things *Barbarians* act, such Villanies
Are the Result of Lust, or perverse Will,
Where no Laws cement, and no Right confines,
Fathers their Daughters, Sons their Mothers force
To an incestuous Bed, and hurry'd on
By boiling Lust Brothers with Sisters joyn;
All Things are free, the most exalted Love
Can't 'gainst incentive Lust secure your Life.

Mr. *Abell*.

Several of the barbarous Nations seem to have overlook'd the Rules of Decency, and allow'd unnatural and incestuous Mixtures; the *Persians* are especially remarkable for such Practices, for their *Magi*, the most sacred Persons among them, were the Offspring of Mothers and their Sons: Hence *Caullus* (b),

*Nascatur Magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando
Conjugio, & discat Perlicum aruspicum:
Nam Magus ex matre & gnato gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum impia religio.*

Gellius hath Issue by his Mother got,
Nor is it in his Heraldry a Blot;
The Boy must strait be made profoundly wise
In all the magick Trumpery and Lyes,
What must the *Persian* Religion be,
Where such an Act is no Impiety?

Mr. *Abell*.

(a) *Andromach.* v. 173. (b) Epigram XCI.

The Lacedemonians were forbidden to marry any of their Kindred, whether in the direct Degrees of Ascent, or Descent, but a collateral Relation hinder'd them not, for Nephews marry'd their Aunts, and Uncles their Nieces, an Instance whereof *Herodotus* gives us in *Anaxandridas*, who marry'd his Sister's Daughter (a). The Marriages of Brothers and Sisters were utterly unlawful, tho' countenanc'd by several Examples of their Gods: An ample Account hereof may be seen in *Byblis's* Words, when in love with her Brother *Caunus*, where, notwithstanding the Greatness of her Passion, she confesses that no Examples were sufficient to license her incestuous Desires (b),

*Dii melius ! Dii nempe suas habuere sorores :
Sic Saturnus Opim junctam sibi sanguine duxit,
Oceanus Tethyn, Junonem Rector Olympi,
Sunt superis sua jura : Quid ad caelestia ritus
Exigere humanos, diversaque fœdera tento ?
Aut nostro vetitus de corde fugabitur ardor ;
Aut, hoc si nequeo, peream precor ante, toroque
Mortua componar, positeque det oscula frater :
Et tamen arbitrium querit res ista duorum,
Finge placere mihi, scelus esse videbitur illi ;
At non Æolidæ thalamos timuere sororum :
Unde sed hos novi ? Cur hæc exempla paravi ?
Quo feror ? obscenæ procul hinc discedite flammæ.*

The Gods forbid; yet those, whom I invoke,
Have lov'd like me, have their own Sisters took,
Great *Saturn* and his greater Offspring *Jove*,
Both stock'd their Heav'n with incestuous Love :
Gods have their Privilege; why do I strive
To strain my Hopes to their Prerogative ?
No, let me banish this forbidden Fire,
Or quench it with my Blood, or with 't expire,
Unstain'd in Honour, and unhurt in Fame,
Let the Grave bury both my Love and Shame ;
But, when at my last Hour I gasping lie,
Let only my kind Murderer be by,
Let him, while I breath out my Soul in Sighs,
Or gaze't away, look on with pitying Eyes,
Let him (for sure he can't deny me this)
Seal my cold Lips with one kind parting Kiss :
Besides 'twere vain should I alone agree
To what another's Will must ratify ;

(a) Lib. V. (b) *Ovid. Metam. lib. IX. 498.*

Could I be so abandon'd to consent,
 What I have past for good and innocent,
 He may perhaps as worst of Crimes resent:
 Yet we amongst our Race Examples find
 Of Brothers, who have been to Sisters kind;
 Fam'd *Canace* cou'd thus successfull prove,
 Cou'd crown her Wishes in a Brother's Love.
 But whence cou'd I these Instances produce?
 How came I witty to my Ruin thus?
 Whither will this mad Phrenzy hurry on?
 Hence, hence, you naughty Flames, far hence be gone,
 Nor let me e'er the shamefull Passion own.

Mr. Oldham.

Yet 'twas not reputed unlawfull in several Places for Brothers to marry their Half-sisters; and sometimes their Relation by the Father, sometimes by the Mother was within the Law: The *Lacedemonian* Law-giver allow'd Marriages between those that had only the same Mother, and different Fathers (a): The *Athenians* were forbidden to marry Sisters by the same Mother, but not those by the same Father; an Instance whereof we have in *Archeptolis Themistocles's* Son, who marry'd his Sister *Mnesipolema* (b); as likewise in *Cimon*, who, being unable thro' his extreme Poverty to provide a suitable Match for his Sister *Elpinice*, marry'd her himself: Nor was this contrary to the Laws, or Customs of *Athens*, as *Athenus* (c) is of opinion, for, according to *Plutarch's* (d) Account, it was done publickly, and without any Fear of the Laws; *Cornelius Nepos* likewise (e) assures us, it was nothing but what the Custom of their Country allow'd; we find indeed that *Cimon* is sometimes tax'd for his Familiarity with *Elpinice*, but this is only to be understood of his taking her after she had been marry'd to *Callias*; for it appears from the fore-cited Authors, that *Cimon* first marry'd her himself, then gave her to *Callias* a rich *Athenian*, after which he again became familiar with her, which indeed was look'd on as Adultery, she being then another Man's Wife.

Most of the *Grecian* States, especially those that made any Figure, requir'd their Citizens should match with none but Citizens; for they look'd upon the Freedom of their Cities as too great a Privilege to be granted upon easy terms to Foreigners, or their Children: And therefore we find the *Athenian* Laws sentencing the Children of such Matches to perpetual Slavery, an Account whereof has been given in one of the fore-going Books (f): This was not all, for they had a

(a) *Phil. Judaeus* lib. de specialibus legibus ad praeceptum VII. contra mœchos. (b) *Plutarchus Themistocle*. (c) Lib. XII. (d) *Cimone*. (e) *Cimone*. (f) Lib. I. cap. IX.

Law, that if a Foreigner marry'd a Free-woman of *Athens*, it should be lawfull for any Person to call him to account before the Magistrates call'd *Thesmothesæ*, where if he was convicted, they sold him for a Slave, and all his Goods were confiscated, and one third Part of them given to his Accuser: The same Penalty was inflicted upon such Citizens as gave foreign Women in Marriage to Men of *Athens* pretending they were their own Daughters, save that the Sentence of Slavery was chang'd into *Ignominy*, whereby they were depriv'd of their Voices in all publick Assemblies, and most other Privileges belonging to them as Citizens. Lastly, if any Man of *Athens* marry'd a Woman that was not free of that City, he was fin'd a thousand *Drachms* (a).

Virgins were not allow'd to marry without the Consent of their Parents; whence *Hero* in *Museus* (b) tells *Leander*, they could not be honourably joyn'd in Marriage, because her Parents were against it,

Ἀμφαδὸν ἔδυνάμεθα γάμοις ἰσότησι πηλᾶσαι,
Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς τοκέεσσιν ἐπύσαδεν. ———

My Parents to the Match will not consent,
Therefore desist, it is not pertinent.

Hermione in *Euripides* (c) professes she had no Concern about her Marriage, but left that wholly to her Father,

Νυμφευμάτων μὲν γὰρ ἐμῷ πατὴρ ἐμὸς
Μέλειμναι ἔξει, καὶ ἐμὸν φρονεῖν τάδε.

I'm not concern'd, my Father will take care
Of all Things that respect my Nuptials.

The Mother's Consent was necessary as well as the Father's, and therefore *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* was not to be given in Marriage to *Achilles* 'till *Clytemnestra* approv'd the Match (d). Nor were Men permitted to marry without consulting their Parents; for the most early and ignorant Ages were too well acquainted with the Right which Parents have by Nature over their Children, to think these had Power to dispose of themselves without their Parents Consent. *Achilles* in *Homer* refuses *Agamemnon's* Daughter, and leaves it to his Father *Peleus* to choose him a Wife (e),

Ἦν γὰρ δὴ με σίωσι θεοὶ, καὶ οἶκαδ' ἵκωμαι,
Πηλεὺς δ' αὖ μοι ἑπείτα γυναῖκα γαμέσεται αὐτός.

(a) Demosthenes Orat. in Nearam. (b) V. 179. (c) *Andromache*. (d) *Iphigenia* in *Aulide*. (e) *Iliad*. i. v. 393.

If by Heav'n's Blessing I return, a Bride
My carefull Father will for me provide.

When Virgins had no Fathers, their Brothers dispos'd of them: Thus we find *Oreon* promising his Sister *Jocasta* to any Person that should destroy the *Sphinx*, that infested *Thebes*; and *Orestes* gave his Sister *Electra* to his Friend *Pylades*. When they had neither Parents, nor Brethren, they were dispos'd of by their Grand-fathers, those especially by the Father's Side; when these fail'd, they were committed to the Care of Guardians call'd *ἐπίτροποι*, or *κύνει*. It was likewise frequent for Husbands to betroth their Wives to other Persons upon their Death-beds; as appears from the Story of *Demosthenes's* Father, who gave his Wife *Cleobule* to one *Aphobus* with a considerable Portion; when he was dead, *Aphobus* took the Portion, but refus'd to marry the Woman, whereupon *Demosthenes* made his complaint to the Magistrates, and accus'd him in an elegant Oration (a): And that this Custom was very usual, appears from the same Orator's Defence of *Phormio*, who being a Slave, and faithfull in his Business, his Master gave him both his Liberty, and his Wife.

They had several Forms of betrothing, such as this cited by *Clemens the Alexandrian* (b) out of *Menander*, Παιδὼν ἀπὸρρῶ ἢ γυναικῶν δίδωμι σοι τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρα, i. e. I give you this my Daughter to make you Father of Children lawfully begotten. The Dowry was sometimes mention'd, as we find in *Xenophon* (c), where *Cyaxares* betrothes his Daughter to *Cyrus*, Δίδωμαι σοι, ὦ Κύρῃ, αὐτὴν ταύτην ἢ γυναῖκα θυγατέρεα ἔσσαν ἐμῶν, ἐπιδίδωμαι δ' αὐτῇ ἐγὼ καὶ περὶ τὴν Μεδίαν πάντα; i. e. I give you, *Cyrus*, this Woman, who is my Daughter, with all *Media* for her Dowry. The Persons to be marry'd plighted their Faith to one another, or to their Relations; Thus *Clitophon* and *Leucippe* swear to each other (d), the former to be constant and sincere in his Love, the later to marry him, and make him Master of all she had: *Ovid* makes the next Ceremony after betrothing to be the Virgin's Oath to her Lover,

Promissit pater hanc, hæc & juravit amanti.

Her Father promis'd, she an Oath did take
Her faithfull Lover never to forsake.

The Ceremony in promising Fidelity was kissing each other, or giving their right Hands, which was the usual Form of rati-

(a) Orat. in *Aphobum*. (b) *Stromat.* lib. II. (c) *Κυροπαδ.* lib. VIII.
(d) *Achill. Tat.* lib. V.

tying all Agreements: Hence *Chrysemnestra* in *Euripides* calls for *Achilles's* right Hand to assure her of his sincere Intention to marry her Daughter (a),

———— Δεξιάν γ' ἐμῇ χεῖρᾳ
Συνάψον, ἀρχὴν μακαρίαν νυμφευμάτων.

Joyn your right Hand to mine, a sacred Tie
Of this our Compact.————

The *Thebans* had a Custom for Lovers to plight their Faith at the Monument of *Iolaus*, who was a Lover of *Hercules*, and assisted him in his Labours (b), and was therefore believ'd to take care of Love-affairs, when advanc'd into Heaven.

In the primitive Ages Women were marry'd without Portions from their Relations, being purchas'd by their Husbands, whose Presents to the Woman's Relations were call'd her *Dowry*: Thus we find *Shechem* bargaining with *Jacob* and his Sons for *Dinah*; Let me find grace in your Eyes, (saith he) and what ye shall say unto me I will give: Ask me never so much Dowry and Gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me; but give me the Damsel to Wife (c). Several Instances may be produc'd to the same purpose, were not this Custom too well known to need farther Confirmation; only thus much would be observ'd, that when Civility and good Manners came to be establish'd in any Place, it was usually laid aside, for *Aristotle* makes it one Argument to prove that the ancient *Grecians* were an unciviliz'd People, because they us'd to buy their Wives (d). No sooner therefore do we find them beginning to lay aside their barbarous Manners, but this Practice was left off, inasmuch that *Medea* in *Euripides* complains that Women were the most miserable of all Creatures endow'd with Understanding, because lying under a Necessity of purchasing their own Masters at a dear Rate (e). So frequent became the Custom for Women to bring Portions to their Husbands, that some make the most essential Difference between γυνή and παλλακή, i. e. Wife and Concubine, to consist in this, that Wives had Dowries, whereas Concubines were usually without: Whence one in *Plautus*, the Scene of whose Action is laid in Greece, speaks thus (f),

———— Sed ut inops
Infamis ne sim, ne mihi hanc famam differant, ne
Germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi
Sic sine dote dedisse magis, quam in matrimonium.

(a) *Iphigen. in Aulid.* v. 831. (b) *Plutarchus Pelopida.* (c) *Genes.* XXXIV. 2. (d) *Politic.* lib. II. cap. VIII. (e) *Euripidis Med.* 230. (f) *Trinummio.*

Tho' I am low i'th' World, and am but mean,
 I'll offer some small Matter for her Dowry,
 Lest this Asperſion ſhould be thrown abroad,
 That ſhe as *Miſtreſs*, not as *Wiſe*, is to you.

The reſt of their Diſtinction was chiefly founded upon this, for ſhe, that had a Dowry, thought it a juſt Title to a greater Freedom with her Husband, and more Reſpect from him than ſuch as ow'd their Maintenance to him: Hence *Hermione* in *Euripides* is enrag'd that the Captive *Andromache* ſhould pretend to be her Rival in *Pyrrhus's* Affections,

Κόσμον μὲ ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρυσεῖας χλιδῆς,
 Σπολμόντε χρωτὸς τῶνδε ποικίλων πέπλων
 Οὐ γὰρ Ἀχιλλέως, ἔδδ' Πηλέως ἄπο
 Δόμων ἀπαρχαῖς δ' εὖρ' ἔχουσ' ἀφικόμην.
 Ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακωνίης Σπαρτιάπιδος χθονὸς
 Μενέλαος ἡμῖν τὰντα δωρεῖται πατὴρ
 Πολλοῖς σὺν ἔδνοις, ὥς' ἐλευθεροσμεῖν,
 Τμᾶς μὲ ἐν τοιοῖσδ' ἀμείβομαι λόγοις.
 Σὺ δ' ἔσα δέλη, καὶ δεικνύς γυνή,
 Δόμους καταχεῖν, ἐκβαλεῖς ἡμᾶς, δέλεῖς
 Τέσδ' (a); ———

This rich Attire, theſe coſtly Ornaments,
 My various Change of Cloaths, and all my Jewels
 Ne'er did *Achilles*, or old *Peleus* give;
 No, they are only kind, indulgent Tokens
 Of my dear Father's Bleſſing; theſe I brought
 From *Sparta* with a Fortune great and noble
 To ſhew my Quality, and that I might
 Speak freely without any ſlaviſh Awe;
 And doſt thou think, thou dirty, ſervile Woman,
 To paramount, to caſt me out, and gain
 Th' Aſcendant o'er my Lord's Affections?

Mr. Abell

So ſenſible was *Lycurgus* of this, and ſome other Inconveniences attending this Cuſtom, that, what for fear Wives ſhould domineer over their Huſbands, what out of a Deſire that Men ſhould chooſe

(a) Euripid. *Andromach.* 247.

Wives more for the sake of their Persons than their Money, and that no Woman's Poverty should hinder her of an Husband, he quite banish'd it out of Sparta (a). Solon agree'd herein with *Lycurgus*, for all the Dowry he permitted the Athenian Wives to have, was a little inconsiderable Household-stuff, and three Suits of Cloaths: "For (says *Plutarch*) he would not have Marriages "for Gain, or an Estate, but for pure Love, kind Affection, and "to get Children (b)". But this was not without it's Exceptions, for Men that had no Sons were allow'd to entail their Estates upon Daughters; and every Heiress (the Athenians call'd them *ἐπίκλησις*) was oblig'd to marry her nearest Relation, lest her Estate should go out of the Family; but in Consideration of her Dowry she had the Privilege, when her Husband was impotent, to lie with his nearest Kinsman; which Law was contriv'd against those, who, conscious of their own Inability, would match with Heiresses for the Portion's sake, and make use of Law to put a Violence upon Nature; yet (saith my Author) 'twas wisely done to confine her to her Husband's nearest Kinsman, that the Children might be of the same Family: A farther Privilege Heiresses had above other Women was, that their Husbands were oblig'd to lie with them thrice a Month (c). Another Exception from the Law against Dowries was that which concern'd Orphans; he, that was next in Blood to an orphan Virgin that had no Inheritance, was oblig'd to marry her himself, or settle a Portion on her according to his Quality; if he was Πεντακοσιμεδίωνος, one of the first Rank, five mine, or five hundred Drachms; if ἑπτακοσι, of the second Rank, three hundred; if *Ζεφυριος*, of the third Rank, one hundred and sixty: But if she had many Relations equally ally'd, all of them contributed their Proportions to make up the Sum: If there were more than one Virgin, their nearest Kinsman was only oblig'd to marry, or give a Portion to one of them; and, upon his Refusal to do this, any Person was allow'd to indict him before the Archon, who, was oblig'd to compell him to his Duty, and, if he refus'd to put the Law in Execution, was fin'd a thousand Drachms, which were consecrated to Juno, the Goddess of Marriage (d). Terence has several Hints at these Customs, for his Scenes being laid in Athens, he frequently describes the Usages of that City; thus in *Phormio* (e),

*Lex est, ut orbe, qui sint genere proximi,
Eis nubant, & illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

(a) *Justin.* lib. III. *Plutarch.* Apophthegm. *Laconic.* *Alian.* Var. Hist. lib. VI. cap. VI. (b) *Plutarchus* Solone. (c) Idem loc. citato. (d) *Demosthenis* Orat. ad *Macartatum* de *Hagniana* hæreditate. (e) *Act.* I. Sc. II.

It's an establish'd Form in *Attick Laws*,
That the next male *Kinsman* without Demurr
Must be t' an *Orphan Girl* in Wedlock joyn'd.

In the same Comedy (a) he expressly mentions the five *Minae* given by Men of the first Quality,

*Esi mihi facta injuria est, verumtamen
Potius quam lites secter, aut quam te audiam
Iidem ut cognata si sit, id quod lex jubet
Dotem dare, abduce hanc, minas quinque accipe.*

Tho' I've been herein bubbled, here's the Sum,
Five *minæ*, as the Law enjoyns, and take her
As my Kinswoman; this I'll rather do
Than sacrifice my Patience to your Talk,
Or enter once the Clutches of the Law.

Mr. *Abell*.

It may be observ'd farther, that afterwards, when Money became more plentiful, the Relations of these Virgins encreas'd their Dowries, for we are told by *Enstathius* (b), that the Πενταχοστομέδονοι gave ten *minæ*, and Men of inferior Quality without doubt rais'd their Contributions proportionably. When Virgins had no Relations to provide for them, and were descended from Men that had been serviceable to their Country, it was common for the State to take care of them: A remarkable Instance hereof we have in *Aristides's* two Daughters, to each of which the City gave three hundred *Drachms* for her Portion (c): Nor is it to be wonder'd (saith my Author) that the *Athenians* should make Provision for thole that liv'd in their City, when hearing that the Grand-daughter of *Aristogiton* (a famous Patriot that oppos'd *Pisistratus's* Sons) was in a low Condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and like to want an Husband, because without a Portion, they sent for her to *Athens*, marry'd her to a Person of great Quality, and gave her a Farm belonging to the City for a Dowry. Indeed however generous the Love of the more ancient *Athenians* was, their Successors commonly made Money the chief Tye of their Affections; and the later *Spartans* were of the same Humor even whilst the Laws of *Lycurgus* were still in being; for we find that, whilst *Lysander* was in a flourishing Condition, and pass'd for a wealthy Man, several Persons engag'd themselves to his Daughters, who, seeing afterwards how poor and honest he dy'd, broke off their Contract: 'Tis true the *Spartans* punish'd them severely for

(a) A.G. II. Sc. III. (b) *Iliad*. 6. (c) *Plutarchus Aristide*.

their Perfidiousness, but that seems done rather out of respect to *Lyfander's Memory* (a), than to their ancient Constitution, which, as soon as Riches began to be possess'd and admir'd at *Sparta*, seems to have been laid asleep. The *Grecians* indeed, notwithstanding the Prohibition of some of their Laws, were generally Lovers of Money, and seem to have match'd rather for the sake of that, than other more commendable Qualifications: Nor was this a late Corruption, but entertain'd even in the primitive Times; for we find *Andromache* call'd by *Homer* (b) πολὺδωρος, i. e. according to *Eustathius*, πολὺπλοῦτος, possess'd of a large Dowry; and before the Use of Money was common, Virgins increas'd their Husband's Estates by adding Sheep and Oxen to their Flocks add Herds, wherein the Riches of those Ages chiefly consisted, whence (as the same Author observes) they are sometimes honour'd with the Epithet of ἀλφειόλαι: And from the Expences Fathers were at on this account came the Proverb,

Παῖς μοι τρίτοϋτος εἴη, μὴ τρίτοϋτρεα.

Which is nothing but a Father's Wish, that his Children might rather be Boys than Girls. As to the Quantity of Dowries nothing can be determin'd, the Humors of Persons, and their particular Exigences being the Laws they were usually directed by in such Cases; only it may be observ'd, that in *Crete* Sisters were put off with half the Share of their Brothers (c). The Dowry was nam'd προῖξ, sometimes μέγιστον παρὰ τὸ μετρίως εἶναι ἄνδρα, or ἔδνα, q. ἡδύνα, παρὰ τὸ ἡδύναι, as design'd to procure the Favour and good Will of the Person they were given to, sometimes φερὴν from φέρειν, because brought by the Wife to her Husband: Some of the same Names are us'd for the Man's Dowry, or Portion, as *Eustathius* has observ'd. When the Wife had a Dowry, it was commonly expected her Husband should make her a Settlement to be a Maintenance for her, in case he should happen to be parted from her by Death, or Divorce. This was usually an House, or Land, and was anciently call'd ἀποτίμημα (d), being a Return equivalent to the Dowry; afterwards it was frequently term'd ἀντιφάρον, i. e. a Recompence for her Dowry, or ὑποβολὸν from ὑποβάλλειν, because it was ὑποβαλλόμενον τῇ φερῇ, given instead of her Dowry: But where no such Security was given, Husbands that divorc'd their Wives were oblig'd to return their Dowry: The

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lyfandro*. (b) *Iliad* 2. (c) *Alexander ab Alex. Gen. Dier.* lib. IV. cap. VIII. (d) *Hesychius*, *Harpoerastion*, *Suidas*, *Pollux*.

same Obligation reach'd their Heirs upon refusal to maintain the Wives of those, whose Estates they inherited: Hence *Telemachus* in *Homer*, having suffer'd many Affronts, and sustain'd great Losses by his Mother *Penelope's* Gallants, yet thinks it not prudent to dismiss her to her Father *Icarinus*, because that could not be done without returning her Portion (a),

Κακὸν δὲ με πολλ' ἀποτίνειν
Ἰκαεῖω, αἰὲν αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ἀπὸ μητέρα πέμψω.

I could not now repay so great a Sum
To the old Man, should I dismiss her Home
Against her Will.——

Which Words seem to intimate farther, that if the Woman departed of her own accord, the fore-mention'd Obligation became void. What other Things Wives brought to their Husbands above their Portions, were call'd *ἐξώφερα*, *ἐπιπερικον*, *ἐπιμείλια*, and by later *Greeks* *ἐξώφερα*.

Before Men marry'd, 'twas customary to provide themselves an House to settle in; to which Practice *Hesiod's* Advice is an Allusion,

Οἶκον μὲν θέρεψα, γυναῖκά τε (b).——

First see you have a Settlement, and Wife.

The Woman in *Theocritus* asks her Lover, whether he was making an House ready for her,

Τεύχεις μοι θαλάμους, τεύχεις κὶ δῶμα, κὶ αὐλὰς;

What? are you furnishing an House! have you
Provided Beds?——

To which he replies,

Τεύχω σοι θαλάμους.——

Beds I procure, don't fear.——

Protesilaus in *Homer*, being call'd to the *Trojan* War soon after his Marriage, is said to have left *δῆμον ἡμιτελῆ*, his House half-finish'd (c),

(a) *Odyss.* c'. v. 132. (b) *Erg.* c'. 23. vide *Turneb.* Adv. lib. XXI.
(c) *Iliad.* c'. v. 700.

Τὴν δὲ ἀπιδροφὴν ἀλοχὸν Φυλάκην ἐλέλειπτο,
Καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής. —

At *Phylace* he left behind his Spouse
There to lament in an half-finish'd House.

Some, indeed, will have οἶκος to be meant of his Family, which is call'd ἡμιτελής, because he left it before he had any Children (a): The same Ambiguity is found in *Valerius Flaccus*, who has thus imitated *Homer* (b),

————— *Conjux miseranda Cæreo*
Linguitur, & primo domus imperfecta cubili.

Nigh where *Cæcylus* in clear Streams doth glide
His solitary House and Wife abide,
Unblest with th' Offspring of the bridal Night,
Who might solace the Thoughts, the pensive Mind delight.
Mr. *Abell*.

Catullus has express'd the same Thought thus (c),

Conjugal ut quondam flagrans advenit amore
Protefilæam Laodamia domum
Inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro
Hostia caelestes pacificasset heros.

As fair *Laodamia* once did come,
Inflam'd with Passion, to th' unfinish'd Home
Of her dear Lord, before the Sacrifice
Had e'er appeas'd the heav'nly Deities.

Mr. *Abell*.

The *Athenian* Virgins were presented to *Diana* before it was lawfull for them to marry: This Ceremony was perform'd at *Brauron* an *Athenian* Borough; it was call'd ἀρκεία, the Virgins themselves ἀρκίαι, and the Action ἀρκεία, the Custom being instituted to appease the Goddess, who had been incens'd against some of the *Athenians* for killing a Bear, the Story whereof is describ'd at large in one of the precedent Books (d). Another Custom there was for Virgins, when they became marriageable, to present certain Baskets full of little Curiosities to *Diana*, to gain Leave to depart out of her Train (Virgins being look'd on as that Goddess's Pec-

(a) Scholiastes vetus in loc. cit. (b) Lib. VI. (c) Epigram. ad *Mallium*.
(d) Vol. I. p. 338, 339.

liar) and change their State of Life: To which Custom *Theocritus* has this Allusion (a),

Ἡνὶ δ' αὖ τὰ ὕβλοιο Καναφόρος ἄμυν Ἀναξὼ
 Ἄλσος ἐπ' Ἀρτέμιδος, ———

*Anaxo Eubul's Daughter full of Love
 Came to me with a Basket for Diana's Grove.*

The *Action* was *κανφορεῖν*, and the Virgins *κανφόροι*, from the Baskets they carry'd. The *Baotians* and *Locrians* had a Custom for Persons of both Sexes before their Nuptials to offer Sacrifice to *Euclia*, who had an Image and Altar in their Market-places: This *Euclia* some will have to be the Daughter of *Menatius*, and Sister of *Patroclus*; others rather think her the same with *Diana* (b); 'tis not improbable that *Diana* receiv'd this Sirname from *Patroclus's* Sister, or that she was worship'd by the Name of *Diana Euclia*; for, *Diana* being the Goddess of Virginity, 'tis not to be wonder'd, that one honour'd for the Preservation of her Virginity, should be worship'd under her Name; since 'twas common to attribute to those, that were first eminent for any sort of Virtue, or excellent Quality, the Actions of all that afterwards imitated them; hence we have several *Jupiters*, *Minerva's*, *Bacchus's*, *Hercules's*, &c. the famous Exploits of many Persons distant as well in Time, as Place, being ascrib'd to one Hero. To return, we find *Diana* concern'd in the preparatory Solemnities before all Marriages, for a marry'd Life being her Averfion, 'twas thought requisite for all that enter'd upon it to ask her Pardon for dissenting from her; this was done by Prayers, and several sorts of Sacrifices, whence *Agamemnon* in *Euripides*, pretending he was going to match *Iphigenia* with *Achilles*, speaks thus to *Clytemnestra* (c),

Ἐπεμπε πᾶσα δομάτων πατρὸς μέτα,
 ὡς χέρνιβες πάρεσσιν οὐτρεπισμύχαι,
 Περύχται τε βάλλειν πῦρ καθάρειον ἐκ χερῶν,
 Μόχοι τε, πρὸ γάμων ὡς διὰ πεισῖν χερῶν
 Ἀρτέμιδι, μέλανος αἵματος φουήματα.

Send *Iphigenia* quickly forth with me,
 Hymen is now propitious, all things wait
 To grace the solemn Gladness of this Day,
 The Holy-water's ready, with the Cakes
 To cast upon the Fire, the Calves are brought,

(a) *Idyll. C. v. 66.* (b) *Plutarchus Aristide.* (c) *Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 1110.*

Whose Blood in grateful Vapors must arise
To atone the Breach of chaste Diana's Rites.

Mr. Abell.

These were call'd *γαμήλιοι εὔχαι*, *περγάμεια*, *προτέλεια* *εὔχαι*, or *προτέλεια*, for *τέλος* and *γάμος* are Terms of the same Signification, the former denoting Marriage either as a general Name for all sorts of Rites and Ceremonies; or (as some say) because the longing Expectations of marry'd Persons are there by consummated, and brought to an End; or because Persons, that are marry'd, become complete and perfect Men, and renounce all the Customs and Desires of Childhood, whence they are call'd *τέλειοι* (a), and are said to be *ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ*: The same Epithet is commonly given to the Gods that had the Care of Marriage, whence we read of *Jupiter τέλειος*, *Juno τελέια* (b), &c. These Gods were likewise render'd propitious before the Nuptials, and the Sacrifices with other Devotions offer'd to them were all known by the same Names with those offer'd to *Diana*; *Juno's* were call'd (beside their general Name) *Ἡρατέλεια* from her own Name, which in Greek is *Ἡρα*: Several other Deities had their Share in these Honours, *Minerva* firnam'd *παρθένος*, the Virgin, had a peculiar Title to them at *Athens* upon the same account they were paid to *Diana*, and 'twas not permitted a Virgin to marry, 'till she had paid her Devotion to this Goddess's Temple in the Cittadel (c). *Venus* likewise, and all the rest of the *γαμήλιοι θεοὶ*, Gods superintending Marriage, were invok'd (d); the *Lacedemonians* had a very ancient Statue of *Ἀρεθδίτη Ἡρα*, i. e. *Venus Juno*, to which all Mothers sacrific'd, when their Daughters were marry'd (e). The most ancient *Athenians* paid the same Honour to *Heaven* and *Earth*, which were believ'd to have a particular Concern in Marriages, the later of these being render'd fruitful by the benign Influences of the former, and therefore a fit Emblem of Marriage (f). The *Faies*, and *Graces*, being thought first to joyn, and then preserve the Tye of Love, were Partakers of the like Respect (g); and 'tis probable that several other Deities at different Places, and for different Reasons claim'd a Share therein. The Day, wherein this Ceremony was perform'd, was usually that which immediately went before the Marriage (h); 'tis commonly call'd *γαμηλία*, sometimes *κρηστής* (i) from the Custom they had of shaving themselves on this Occasion (k), and presenting their Hair to some of the fore-

(a) *Biceus* in *Aristoph. Theſmophor.* (b) *Suidas*, aliiq. complures. (c) *Suidas*, &c. (d) *Etymologici Auſtor*, &c. (e) *Pausanius Laconicu.* (f) *Proclus* in *Timæum Platonis* Comment. V. (g) *Pollux* lib. III. cap. III. *Etymologici Auſtor* γαμηλία. (h) *Hefychius*. (i) *Etymologici Auſtor*. (k) *Pollux* loc. cit. &c.

mention'd Deities, or other Gods, to whom they had particular Obligations: The *Megarensian* Virgins offer'd their Hair with Libations at the Monument of *Iphinoe*, Daughter of *Alcathous*, who dy'd a Virgin; the *Delians* to *Hecaterge* and *Opis* (a); the *Argians* and *Athenians* (to trouble you with no more Instances) to *Minerva*: *Statius* has mention'd this Ceremony (b), speaking of that Goddess's Temple,

— *Hic more parentum*
Iafides, thalamis ubi casta adolefceret etas,
Virgineas libare comas, primosque solebant
Excusare toros.—

When maiden Blushes could claim no Pretence,
And vig'rous Age had fully'd Innocence,
As anciently, the *Argives* hither came
To vent their Passion, and their Love proclaim,
They paid *Diana* then their Virgin Hair
T'excuse the first Embraces of their Dear.

Mr. Abell.

But these Names (*γαμνλία* and *κηγεωτης*) were at *Athens* peculiar to one Day of the Solemnity call'd *Apaturia*, wherein Fathers had their Children enter'd into the publick Register, at which Time they offer'd Sacrifices for their Prosperity, with a particular Respect to their Marriages, and commonly shav'd off some of their Hair to be dedicated to some of the Deities, especially her to whose Honour that Festival was celebrated. But tho' the Time of presenting their Hair might not be constantly the same, yet the Custom it self seems to have been universally observ'd not only by Women, but Men, who rarely fail'd of performing this Ceremony upon their Arrival to Years of Maturity: Some of their Locks were carefully preserv'd for this Use, and therefore when *Pentheus* in *Euripides* threatens *Bacchus* to shave his Hair, the young God tells him it would be an impious Action, because he delign'd it for an Offering to some Deity (c),

Ἦτος ὁ πλόκαμος, τῷ Διῶ δ' αὐτὸν τέρω.

This Lock is sacred, this I do preserve
As some choice votive Off'ring for the God.

The Hair was call'd *πλόκαμος Σπενήνεος*, because presented to a God, as an Acknowledgement of his Care in their Education. The Deity thus honour'd was commonly *Apollo*, as *Plutarch* re-

(a) *Pausanias Atticis*. (b) *Thebaid*. II. (c) *Bacch*. v. 594.

ports, when he tells us, that *Theseus*, according to the Custom of the *Grecian* Youths, took a Journey to *Delphi* to offer the First-fruits of his Hair to the God of that Place (a). But this could not concern the poorer sort, to whom such Journeys would have been too expensive, nor were those of better Quality under any strict Obligation to pay this Honour to *Apollo*, it being not unusual to do it to other Gods, such especially as were thought to have protected their Infancy from Danger, and preserv'd them to Manhood: Instances are needless in a Thing so well known, only it may be necessary to observe, that the Deities of Rivers were commonly thought to have Title to this Respect, which Concept seems to have proceeded from the Opinion of some Philosophers, who thought all Things were first produc'd out of Water, and still nourish'd, and render'd fruitfull by it, whence the Poets took Occasion to give the Epithet *κηροτρόφος* to watery Deities, as well as *Apollo*, those being no less instrumental in the Growth and Encrease of living Creatures than the Sun, whose Influences without Moisture can contribute nothing to the Production, or Preservation of Life: Hence both were look'd on as deserving their Returns of Gratitude for the first Gift, as well as Continuance of Life (b). I shall only trouble you with the following Example of Hair presented to Rivers, whereby what I have said concerning the Reason of this Custom will be confirm'd; for *Achilles's* preserving his Hair as a Present to *Sperchius* on Condition he should return home in safety, and afterwards shaving it when he found the Fates had decreed that he should be slain before *Troy*, plainly shew that they us'd to preserve their Hair to the Gods, as a grateful Acknowledgement of their Care in preserving them: *Homer's* Words run thus, when he speaks of *Patroclus's* Funeral (c),

Ενδ' αὐτ' ἀλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρεκς δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανδίῳ ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην,
 Τῷ ἔα Σπερχεῖῳ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεδύωσαν.
 Οὐδέ τις δ' ἄρα εἶπεν, ἰδὼν ὅππ' οἶνοπα πόντον·
 “Σπερχεῖ, ἄλλως σοὶ γε πατὴρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεΐδης,
 “Κεῖσέ με νοσήσαντα φίλῳ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
 “Σοὶ τε κόμην κατέειν, ῥέξειν δ' ἱερῷ ἐκατόμβῳ,
 “Πεντήκοντα δ' ἔνορχα παρ' αὐτόδ'ι μῆλ' ἱερύσειν
 “Ες πηγάς, ὅδι τι τέμνος, βαμὸς τε θυήεις·
 “Ὡς ἠρᾷδ' ὁ γέρον, σὺ δὲ οἱ νόον ἐκ ἐτέλεσσας·

(a) *Theseo*. (b) *Eustathius Iliad* ψ. ubi hanc rem fusius enarrat. (c) *Iliad*.
 ψ. v. 140.

“Νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἔνομαι γὰρ φίλῳ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
 “Πατρὸς κλέῳ ἥρωϊ κόμῳ ὀπάσαιμι φέρεδαι.

Then did *Achilles*, that brave Prince, prepare
 For other Rites, he shav'd his golden *Hair*,
 While at a distance from the Pile he stood,
That Hair, he'd nourish'd, *Sperchius*, for thy Flood;
 Then, as he look'd upon the Stream, he said,
 (While Grief and Anguish did his Soul invade)
 “My loving Father made a vow (in vain)
 “That, when I see my native Soyl again,
 “I should my *Hair* in pious Duty *shave*
 “To thee, and thou an *Hecatomb* shouldst have;
 “That fifty Rams I to thy Source should bring,
 “And pay them at thy Shrine a thankful Offering:
 “Thus, thus old *Peless* vow'd, but since I can't
 “Return, and you'll his Wish by no means grant,
 “My dear *Patroclus* I'm resolv'd shall have
 “These Locks, it is for him I do 'em *shave*.

Mr. *Abell*.

To return: Before the Marriage could be solemniz'd, the other Gods were consulted, and their Assistance implor'd by Prayers and Sacrifices, which were usually offer'd to some of the Deities that superintended these Affairs by the Parents, or other Relations of the Persons to be marry'd: Nor can these Offerings be thought the same with those already mention'd, and call'd *προτέλαια*, since we find them plainly distinguish'd by *Euripides* in a Dialogue between *Agamemnon*, and *Clytemnestra* concerning the Marriage of their Daughter *Iphigenia*,

ΚΛΥ. Προτέλαια δ' ἦδη παῖδός ἐσφαζες Θῆᾱ;

ΑΓΑ. Μέλλω γ', ὅπῃ πῶτῃ καθεύδαμεν πύχῃ.

ΚΛΥ. Καί περτα δαίσεις τὸς γαίμους εὐσεβέων;

ΑΓΑ. Θύσας γὰρ δύμαδ', ἀπὲρ μὲ ἐχέω δῶσαι θεοῖς (α).

CLY. Well, have you kill'd the Victims for the Goddess,
 My Daughter's Wedding to *initiate*?

AGA. I'll see that done, for that is my Design.

CLY. And then the Wedding-dinner? AGA. That we'll have,
 When to the Gods the Victims offer'd are.

Mr. *Abell*.

(α) *Euripid. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 718.*

When the Victim was open'd, the Gall was taken out, and thrown behind the Altar (a), as being the Seat of Anger and Malice, and therefore the Aversion of all the Deities that had the Care of Love, as well as those who became their Votaries: The Entrails were carefully inspected by Soothsayers, and if any unlucky Omen presented it self, the former Contract was dissolv'd as displeasing to the Gods, and the Nuptials prevented: The same happen'd upon the appearing of any ill-boding Omen without the Victim; thus we find in *Achilles Tatius* that *Clitophon's* design'd Marriage with *Calligone* was hinder'd by an Eagle, that snatch'd a Piece of the Sacrifice from the Altar (b). The most fortunate Omen that could appear was a Pair of Turtles, because of the inviolable Affection those Birds are said to have for each other: The same may be observ'd of *κορῶναι*, which were thought to promise long Life, or Happiness, by reason of the Length of their Lives, which is proverbially remarkable, and the Perpetuity of their Love, for, when one of the Mates is dead, the other remains solitary ever after (c); for which reason, the Appearance of those Birds single boded Separation, or Sorrow to the marry'd Couple, whence (as we are told by *Horapollon*) it was customary at Nuptials to sing *Κόρη ἐκκόπει κορῶναι*, whereby the Maids were put in mind to watch that none of these Birds coming single should disturb the Solemnity; or, perhaps, it might be done to avert the pernicious Influences of so unlucky an Omen, if it happen'd to appear. Another Remedy against evil Omens was this, they wrote over their House-doors, ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ, (LET NO EVIL ENTER, which Sentence was thought a prevailing Amulet against ill-boding Appearances, and was sometimes joyn'd with the Master of the House's Name, as appears from a new-marry'd Person, who wrote thus upon his House;

Ο ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ.

I. e. *Here dwells Hercules, the victorious Son of Jupiter, Let no evil enter.*

This gave occasion to *Diogenes's* Jest, for seeing upon the Door of a vicious Fellow the fore-mention'd Prayer, Then (said he) let not the Master of the House enter (d).

The Bride-groom's Garments were all dy'd, as *Suidas* (e) has observ'd out of *Aristophanes*. However that be, both the marry'd Per-

(a) *Calius Rhodiginus* lib. XXVIII. cap. XXI. (b) Lib. II. (c) *Alexand. ab Alex.* (d) *Diogenes Laertius* in *Diogene*. (e) *V. Bætid.*

sons, and all their Attendants were richly adorn'd, according to their Quality;

Σοὶ δ' ἰάμος θεδὸν ἔω, ἵνα χρὴ καλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ
ἔξματα ἐννυδαί, τὰ δ' αὖ τοῖσι ὄψαρχεῖν, οἱ κέ σ' ἄγων)

The Time was nigh completed, when a Bride
You was to be, and richly dress'd in Cloaths,
With your Attendants on that solemn Time.

They were likewise deck'd with Garlands of various Herbs and Flowers; whence *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* speaks thus to *Achilles* about her Daughter *Iphigenia* (a),

Ἀλλ', ὦ θεῶς παῖ, τῇ τ' ἐμῇ δυσπραξίᾳ,
τῇ τε λεχθεῖσιν δαίματι σῇ, μάτην μὲν, ὅλλ' ὅμως
Σοὶ καταστήσας ἐγὼ νῦν ἔγωγ' ὡς γαμβρὺν.

Thou darling Offspring of a Goddess, help;
Pity, redress, avenge my woful Loss
In my dear Child, thy Wife, but oh! in vain,
Tho' I had given her to be wedded to thee.

Mr. Abell.

The Herbs were usually such as some way or other signify'd the Affairs of Marriage, as those sacred to *Venus*, or (which are mention'd by the *Scholiast* (b) upon *Aristophanes*) *σίνυλγειον*, *μύκων*, *σόσμημον*, &c. Cakes made of *Sesame* were likewise given at Marriages, that Herb being *πολύγονος*, remarkable for its Fruitfulness, according to the same Author. The *Bæotians* us'd Garlands of wild *Asparagus*, which is full of Prickles, but bears excellent Fruit, and therefore was thought to resemble the Bride, who had given her Lover some trouble in courting her, and gaining her Affections, which she recompens'd afterwards by the Pleasantness of her Conversation. The House, where the Nuptials were celebrated, was likewise deck'd with Garlands: A Pestil was ty'd upon the Door, and a Maid carry'd a Sieve (c), the Bride her self bearing *φρύγανον*, *φρύγαστρον*, or *φρύγητρον* (d) an earthen Vessel, wherein Barley was parch'd, to signify her Obligation to attend the Business of her Family.

The Bride was usually conducted in a Chariot from her Father's House to her Husband's about Evening (e): She was plac'd

(a) *Iphigen.* in *Aulid.* v. 903. (b) *Pace.* (c) *Pollux lib. III. cap. III.*
(d) *Idem lib. I cap. XII.* (e) *Suidas v. Ζεύς.* *Eustathius lib. d. x. p. 765.*
Ed. *Baf.*

in the Middle, her Husband sitting on one Side, and one of his most intimate Friends on the other, whom we therefore find call'd *πάροχος*; this Custom was so frequent, that, when the Bride went to her Husband's House on foot, the Person, who accompany'd her, retain'd the same Name: The same was call'd *νυμφευτής*, *ἡδονυμπίος*, and *παρόνυμπος* (a), tho' this is more commonly us'd in the feminine Gender, and signifies the Woman that waited upon the Bride, sometimes call'd *νυμφόδεσσα*. When the Bridegroom had been marry'd before, he was not permitted to fetch the Bride from her Father's House, but that Care was committed to one of his Friends, who was term'd *νυμφαγωγός* (b), or *νυμφοςόλος*, which Words are likewise taken for the Persons that assisted in making up the Match, and managing all Concerns about the Marriage, who (if Women) were call'd *προμνήστριαι*, *προξενήστριαι*, &c. One Thing may be observ'd in the Bride's Passage to her Husband's House, viz. that Torches were carry'd before her, as appears from the Messenger in *Euripides*, who says he call'd to mind the Time when he bore Torches before *Menelaus* and *Helena*; his Words are thus address'd to *Helena* (c),

Νῦν ἀναγῆμαι τ' σὸν ὑμῶαλον πάλιν,
Καὶ λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ', αἵ, τετραόρεσι
Ἰπποῖς προχέζων, παρέφερον· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφρῳ
Σὺ τὰδε νύμφη δῶμ' ἔλιπες ὄλβιον.

I call to mind as yesterday the Pomp
Of your Procession on the wedding Day;
How you was carry'd in a Coach and Four,
While I with Torches blazing in the Air
Drove fore-most on from your dear Parent's House,
That happy Nurs'ry of your tender Years.

Mr. Abell.

For these Torches were usually carry'd by Servants, as appears from the following Words of *Hesiod* (d),

Τῆλε δ' αἶπ' αἰδομένην δαΐδων σέλας εἰλύραζε
Χερσὶν ἐνὶ δμῶων. ———

The Servants then did flaming Torches bear,
Which darted forth a quiv'ring Light from far.

(a) *Hesychius* v. *Νυμφαγωγός*. (b) *Hesychius*, vide *Pollucis Onomast. lib. III. item Suidam, Phavorinum, cæterosque Lexicographos*. (c) *Helen*, v. 728. (d) *Scut. Herculi*. v. 275.

They were sometimes attended with Singers and Dancers, as Homer acquaints us in his Description of *Achilles's Shield* (a),

Εν δ' οὖν πόινσ' πόλεις μέγ' ἄνδρ' ἄνθρωπων
 Καλὰς· ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥα γάμοι τ' ἔσαν, εἰλαπίναι τε,
 Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων, αἰδῶν ἱστολαμπομενάων,
 Ἡγήνιον ἀνὰ ἄστυ, πολὺς δ' ὑμῳαῖος ὄρωρει·
 Κῦροι δ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνιον ἐν δ' ἄρα τίσιν
 Αὐλοὶ, φόρμιγγές τε βολὴν ἔχον· αἱ δ' ὕμναικες
 Ἰσήμεναι θάνατον ὅτι περὶ θυρίσιν ἐκέστη.

With nice and curious *Touches* next appear
 Two stately Cities; in one Nuptials are,
 Here polish'd Art with Nature doth agree
 In framing Figures of Festivity,
Feasts, Revels, Balls the Sculpture represents
 With various sorts of *Musick*-instruments,
Lamps shine with Brightness on the solemn State,
 While the brisk *Bride-groom* leads his charming *Mate*,
Measures young Men observe with active Feet,
 While the Pomp do's advance along the Street,
 The *Musick* plays, *Hymen, Hymen*, they cry,
 While aged Matrons stand admiring by.

Mr. Abell.

The Song they were entertain'd with in their Passage, was call'd ἄρματειον μέλ^{ον}, from ἄρμα, or the Coach they rode in, the Axle-tree whereof they burn'd, when arriv'd at their Journey's End, thereby signifying, that the Bride was never to return to her Father's House. The Rhodians had a peculiar Custom of sending for the Bride by a publick Cryer. When the Bride-groom enter'd the House with his Bride, it was customary to pour upon their Heads Figs, and divers other sorts of Fruits, as an Omen of the Plenty they were to enjoy (b). The Day of the Bride's Departure from her Father was celebrated in the Manner of a Festival, and call'd Περὶ χαρπυτήρια (c): It seems to have been observ'd at her Father's House before she departed, it being distinct from the nuptial Solemnity, which was kept at the Bride-groom's House, and began at Evening, the usual Time of the Bride's Arrival there.

The Bride, being come to the Bridegroom's House, was entertain'd with a sumptuous Banquet, call'd by the same Name with

(a) *Iliad*. σ. γ. 490. (b) *Aristophan's Scholiastes* in *Plutarch* p. 72. (c) *Harpocration*, *Suidas*.

the Marriage, viz. γάμος, as *Polux* hath observ'd from the following Verse in *Homer*,

Εἰλαπὶν, ἢ γάμος, ἐπὶ ἔκ ἑκατος τὰς γ' ὄσιν.

A hot-free Banquet, or a Marriage-feast,
Not such as is by Contribution made.

Whence δαίειν γάμον is to make a nuptial Entertainment, as in *Homer* (a),

—— Δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μὲν Μυρμιδόνεσσιν.

To make a Marriage-feast for th' *Myrmidons*.

The same Poet has this Expression in other Places (b),

—— Δαίνυντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτησιν.

Making a nuptial Banquet for his Friends.

What was the design of this Entertainment we learn from *Athenaeus*, who (to pass by the Joy and Mirth it was intended to promote) tells us, there were two Reasons for it; the first was the Respect due to the Gods of Marriage, who were invoc'd before the Feast, and had no small Share in it, and 'tis thought by some that most of the *Grecian* Festivals were first observ'd on this Ground: The second End of this Entertainment was, that the Marriage might be made publick (c), for all the Relations of the marry'd Couple were invited as Witnesses of their Marriage, and to rejoyce with them: Whence the young Man in *Terence* concludes, the Marriage he there speaks of could not be presently consummated, because Time was requir'd to invite Friends, and make necessary Preparations (d),

*Ducenda est uxor, ut ais; concedo tibi:
Spatium quidem apparandis nuptiis,
Vocandi, sacrificandi dabitur paululum.*

That he's oblig'd to marry her I grant,
But then some Time before must be allow'd
For the procuring of all Requisites;
His Friends must be invited to the Wedding,
And he address the Gods with Sacrifice.

Mr. *Hutchins*.

(a) *Iliad*. τ. (b) *Odyss.* δ'. (c) *Athenaeus* lib. V. cap. I. initio. (d) *Phorm.* Act. IV. Sc. IV.

During the Solemnity, the Company diverted themselves, and honour'd the Gods of Marriage with Mulick and Dances; we seldom read of a Marriage without them: All the Songs were call'd ὑμναῖοι, or ὑμῆνες; thus both *Homer* and *Hesiod*,

——— Ποῦς δ' ὑμναῖον ὀράσσει.

Many *Hymens* sung.———

The *Romans* us'd the same Term (a),

Hymenæum, turbas, lampadas, tibicines. "

Your *Hymens*, Hubbubs, Flambeaus, and Scrapers.

The reason of this Name was from the frequent Invocations of *Hymen*, or *Hymenæus*, the God of Marriage, always made in their Songs; as in this Verse of *Catullus*,

Io Hymen, Hymenæe Hymen ades, ô Hymenæe.

This *Hymenæus*, we are told, was an *Argian*, whom (b) they receiv'd into the Number of their Gods, and thus remember'd for a generous Action in delivering certain *Athenian* Virgins from the Lust and Cruelty of some *Pelasgians*: Others derive the Word ὁμῶς ναίειν, from the marry'd Couple's inhabiting together; others, lastly, from ὑμῶ, which signifies the *membrana virginalis*.

About the Time of their Entertainment there were several significant Ceremonies relating some way, or other to the State of Marriage; one at *Athens* was this, there came in a Boy cover'd with Thorn-boughs and Acorns, carrying a Basket full of Bread, and singing Εφύγον κακόν, εὗρον ἀμεινον, i. e. I have left the worse, and found the better: Which Saying was us'd at one of their Festivals, when they commemorated their Change of Diet from Acorns to Corn, but seems at this time to have signify'd also the Happiness the marry'd Persons were entering upon, and that Marriage was preferable to a single Life. The *Lacedemonians* had a Custom of carrying about a sort of Cakes made in various Figures, and call'd *welcaves*, whilst they danc'd, and commended the Bride in their Songs (c),

When the Dances were at an end, the marry'd Couple were conducted to the Marriage-bed, which was call'd in *Latin* *lectus genialis*, in *Greek* κλίνη νυμφιδίον, or γαμικὴ, or (when the Persons

(a) *Torrentius Adolph.* (b) *Homeri Scholiastes Iliad. σ'. v. 593.* (c) *Athenæus lib. X.*

and
e (c)
call'd
were first marry'd, and in their youth) κρείδον λέχος: It was rich-
ly adorn'd as the Quality of the Person would bear; the Covering
was usually of Purple, whence the Poet (a),

Purpureumque tum confertens veste cubile.

Spreading a Garment o'er thy purple Bed.

Apollonius speaks of the same Colour, and of Flowers wherewith
they us'd to straw it (b),

Ενθα τὸτ' ἐστρέσαν λέκτρον μέγα τοῖσι ὕπερθε
Χρύσειον αἰγλῆν κᾶς βάλλον, ὅφρα πέλοιτο
Τιμίης τε γάμος καὶ αἰδοῖμος· ἀνδρα δὲ σφι
Νύμφαι ἀμεργόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐνι ποικίλῃ κάλλοις
Εσφόρεον. —

Then richly they adorn'd the Marriage-bed,
A costly purple Skin they o'er it spread,
And that the Nuptials they might celebrate
With more magnificent and pompous State,
The beauteous Nymphs brought in their snowy Breasts
Flowers of various Colours.

Mr. Hutchin.

In the same Room there was commonly plac'd a Side-bed call'd
κλίνη παρελυσος (c), ὅπου σὺ τ' πύδα μὴ ἀδυμήσαι, as Pollux ac-
counts for the Custom (d). But, before they went to Bed, the
Bride bath'd her Feet, whence Trygæus in Aristophanes (e), intending
to marry Opora, no sooner brings her to his House, but commands
his Servants to provide a Vessel of Water, then to make ready
the Bed,

Ἀλλ' εἰσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν,
καὶ τ' πύδα κατὰ κλυζε, καὶ δέξμαίν' ὕδωρ,
Στόρυδ' ἡμῖν καὶ τῇδε κρείδον λέχου.

Bring home my Bride as soon as possible,
Then wash the Vessel, and the Water warm,
And next prepare for us the nuptial Bed.

This Water the Athenians always fetch'd from the Fountain Cal-
lirhoe, afterwards call'd Εννεάκρηνος from nine Cisterns supply'd by it

(a) De nuptiis Pelei & Thetidis v. 1402. (b) Argon. IV. v. 1141. (c) He-
schius. (d) Lib. III. cap. III. (e) Pace.

with Water; the Person that brought it was a Boy nearly ally'd to one of the marry'd Couple, whom they term'd *λειτουργός* from his Office (a): This being done, the Bride was lighted to Bed with several Torches, for a single Torch was not enough, as may be observ'd from the *Miser* in *Libanius* (b), that complains he could not light the Bride to Bed with one Torch: Round one of the Torches the marry'd Person's Mother ty'd her Hair-lace, which she took off for this Use, and made up her Hair with another; *Seneca* alludes to this Custom (c),

Non te duxit in thalamos parens
Comitata primos, nec sua festas manus
Ornavit edes, nec sua letas faces
Vitta revinxit.

Your Mother did not at the Wedding wait,
Nor you into your Chamber introduce,
Nor with her Hand the bridal House adorn'd,
Nor with her Hair-lace ty'd the joyful Torch.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

The Relations of the marry'd Persons assisted in the Solemnity, and it was look'd on as no small Misfortune to be absent; the Mothers especially were assiduous in lighting Torches, when their Son's Wives enter'd the House: *Jocasta* in *Euripides* severely chides *Polymies* for marrying in a foreign Country, because she, with the rest of his Relations and Friends, were depriv'd of their Offices at his Nuptials (d),

Σὺ δ', ὦ τέκνον, καὶ γάμοισι δὴ χλῆος

Ζυγύτα, παιδοποιόν, ἰαδόναν

Ξένοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν,

Ξένον τε κῆδος ἀμφέπειν·

Ἀλασα ματρί τάδε,

Λαῖψ τε σὺ παλαιγενεῖ,

Γάμων ἐπακτὰν ἄταν·

Ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι σοι πuer ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὄφρα

Νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις,

ὣς πρέπει ματρί μακροχρόνῳ

Ἀνομήματι δὲ ἱερμυῖδος ἐκνεύει

Ἀντιγόνη

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux* loc. cit. (b) *Declamat.* XXXVII. (c) *Theb.* v. 505.
(d) *Phaniff.* v. 339. in quem locum vide *Scholiassem.*

Ανα ὃ Θησαίαν πόλιν
Επιτάδῃ σὰς εἰσοδοὺς νύμφας.

But, you, my Son, not without Grief I hear,
Are joyn'd in Wedlock in a foreign Land,
There taste the Pleasures of the genial Bed,
And on a Stranger propagate your Kind;
This, this is Matter of most killing Grief
To me, and your good Grandfire *Laius*,
When we reflect upon those coming Ills,
That must undoubtedly attend the Match:
For neither I, as well becomes the Care
Of happy Mothers, lighted up the Torch,
And blest the Nuptials by that pious Act;
Nor old *Ismenus*, rich in rowling Streams,
Furnish'd out Water for your nuptial Washings,
Nor was the Entrance of your Bride proclaim'd
Thro' Theban Streets, but all as unconcern'd,
As when no Native do's bring home his Bride.

Mr. Hutchin.

The Bride's Mother had no less a Right to this Office, for we find *Clytemnestra*, tho' professing all due Submission to *Agamemnon*, when desir'd by him to absent her self from *Iphigenia's* Marriage, steadfastly refusing it as a Thing against all Justice, notwithstanding his Promise to perform her Part of the Ceremony (a),

ΚΛ. Ημεῖς ὃ πᾶ χρόν πένιχαῦτα πύχαιεν;
ΑΓ. Χάρεϊ πρὸς Ἀργος, παρθένης τε τιμᾶται.
ΚΛ. Λιπῶσα πῦδα; τίς δ' ἀναστήσει φλόγα;
ΑΓ. Ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς, ὃ νυμφίους ἀρέπει.
ΚΛ. Οὐχ ὁ νόμος ἔστος, καὶ σὺ ὃ παῖλ' ἠγῇ ταῖδε.

CL. Whither, mean time, shall wretched I repair?

AG. To *Argos*, let those Maids employ your Care.

CL. And leave my Child? who then the Torch will light?

AG. That be my Care, I will perform that Rite.

CL. And is that fit, let *Agamemnon* judge.

Mr. Hutchin.

After a little disputing, they proceed thus,

ΑΓ. Πῶς. ΚΛ. Μὰ ὃ ἀνασταν Ἀργείων θιάν'
Ελθὼν ὃ, τᾶξω πρῶτον, τὰ ν δόμοις δ' ἐγὼ,
Α χρόν παρῖναι νυμφίοισι παρθένοισ.

(a) *Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 731.*

AG. Without more Reas'nings my Demands obey.

CL. By *Juno*, that o'er *Argos* bears the Sway,
Sooner wou'd wretched *Clytemnestra* bleed
Than give consent to so unjust a Deed;
Affairs abroad better my Lord become,
'Tis fit that I shou'd manage Things at home.

Mr. Hurdin.

The marry'd Couple being shut together in the Chamber, the Laws of *Athens* oblig'd them to eat a Quince, whereby was intimated that their first Discourse ought to be pleasing and agreeable (a). The Husband then loos'd his Wife's Girdle, whence *ἀνὴρ ζώνην* is to deflower, and *γυνὴ λυσιζώνος*, a Woman who has lost her Virginity: This Girdle was not (as some seem to phanfy) worn by Maids only, but us'd as well after Marriage as before, being design'd to secure the weaker Sex from the sudden Attempts of Men inflam'd with Lust, whence *Nonnus* calls it *σαύφρων*, and, when he introduces the *Savys* endeavouring to embrace certain Virgins, we find their Honour secur'd by it (b): The same appears farther from the Mention Authors make of untying Women's Girdles in Child-birth, and from calling such Girls only *ἀμύρεσι*, i.e. not having a Girdle, as were not arriv'd to Maturity.

At this Time the young Men and Maids stood without the Door, dancing and singing Songs call'd *ἐπιθαλάμια* from *θάλαμος*, the Bride-chamber, and making a great Noise by shouting and stamping with their Feet, which was term'd *κλυπτα*, or *κλυπτον* (c), and design'd to drown the Maid's Cryes; lest the Women should go to her Assistance, one of the Bridegrooms Friends stood Sentinel at the Chamber-door, and from his Office was call'd *θυρωρός* (d). This Song, as likewise all the rest, was term'd *Γυμναίος*, and consisted of the Praises of the Bride-groom and Bride, with Wishes for their Happiness, as may appear (to pass by other Instances) from *Theocritus's Epithalamium of Helena*, which begins thus,

Εν ποκ' ἄρα Σπάρτῃ, ξανδοτείχ' παρ Μινελᾶω,
Παρθενικῇ δάλλοντα κόμαις ὑάκινθον ἔχοισαι,
Πρόδε νιογράφῳ θαλάμῳ χροὸν ἐστάσαντο,

(a) *Plutarchus Solone*, &c in *Conjugal. precept.* (b) *Lib. XII. circa finem.*
(c) *Hesychius.* (d) *Pollux lib. III. cap. III.*

Δόδοντα τὰι περὶ τὰ πόλιος μέγα χρῆμα Λακεδαιμόνιαι,
 Ἀνίκα Τυφάριον κατεκράδατο τὰν ἀγαπατῶν
 Μναστήσας Ἐλέναν ὁ νεώτερος Ἀτρείος υἱός·
 Αἰείδον δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι ἐς ἐν μέλος ἐγκροτοῖσσαι
 Ποσὶ πεπλεκτοῖς, περὶ δ' ἴαχε δῶμι ὑμεναίῳ.

At Sparta's Palace twenty beauteous Maids,
 The Pride of Greece, fresh Garlands crown'd their Heads
 With Hyacinth and twining Parsly drest,
 Grac'd joyful Menelaus's Marriage-feast,
 When lovely Helen, great in conqu'ring Charms,
 Relign'd her willing Beauty to his Arms:
 They danc'd around, Joy flow'd from ev'ry Tongue,
 And the vast Palace sounded with the Song.

Mr. Creech.

They return'd again in the Morning, saluted the marry'd Couple, and sung ὀπιθαλάμια ἐγερτικὰ, for that was the Name of the morning Songs, which were design'd to awake and raise the Bridegroom and Bride; as those sung the Night before were intended to dispose them to sleep, and are on that account term'd ὀπιθαλάμια κοιμητικὰ: This Custom appears from Theocritus's Chorus of Virgins, who conclude the fore-cited Epithalamium with a Promise to return early in the Morning,

Εὐδ'ετ' ἐς ἀλλήλων σέρνον φιλόπῃτα πνέοντες
 Καὶ πόδον· ἔρχεσθε δ' ὅπως αἶψά, μὴτ' ἀάδηδε·
 Νεύμεθα καμμάς ἐς ὄρθρον, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τὸς αἰοῖσ'ος
 Εἰς εὐνὰς κελαδίσσῃ ἀναχθὼν εὐτεταχα διελεύ-
 Τμαν, ὦ Τυφάριαι, γάμῳ ὅππ' τὰδε χαρεῖν'ος.

Sleep in each other's Arms, and raise Desire,
 Let ardent Breathings fan your mutual Fire,
 But rise betimes, forget not, we'll return
 When first the crowing Cock shall wake the Morn,
 When thro' his feather'd Throat he sends his Voice:
 O Hymen, Hymen, at this Feast rejoyce.

Mr. Creech.

The Solemnity lasted several Days; the Day before the Marriage was term'd προαμία, as preceding that whereon the Bride did αὐλιζεσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ, lodge with the Bridegroom: The Marriage Day was call'd γάμοι; the Day following, according to Pindar

dar, ὁπίσθιος, which Word signifies a Day added to any Solemnity; *Hesychius* (a) calls it παλία, which may, perhaps, be deriv'd from πάλιν, because the former Day's Mirth was, as it were, repeated, whence the Romans call'd it *reposita*; unless for παλία we might be allow'd to read παλαιά, and then it would be the same with *Athenæus's* ἑως ἡμέρα (b), for ἑως denotes any Thing that has ceas'd to be new, whence *Tully* calls a Book ἑωρον, when Men's first and eager Enquiry after it is cool'd, and *Athenæus* in another Place has oppos'd τὰς ἀκμὰς γάμων ἡμέρας to the τὸ ἑωρον τῆς συμποσίας (c); others call the second Day ἐπαύλια, or ἐπαυλία: The third Day was term'd ἀπαύλια, or rather ἀπαυλία, because the Bride, returning to her Father's House, did ἀπαυλίζεσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ, lodge apart from the Bridegroom, tho' some place this upon the seventh Day after Marriage; others will have it so call'd, because the Bridegroom lodg'd apart from his Bride at his Father in Law's House; 'tis possible both may be in the right, and that both Bridegroom and Bride might lye at her Father's House, but in different Beds: Others make ἀπαύλια to be the same with ἐπαύλια, whence a seeming Difficulty arises, since those two Words import Contraries, one seeming to denote the Bride's Lodging apart from the Bridegroom, the other with him; but this may be easily solv'd by applying ἐπαύλια to her lodging with her Husband, and ἀπαύλια to her Departure from her Father's House (d). On the Day call'd ἀπαύλια (whenever that was) the Bride presented her Bridegroom with a Garment call'd ἀπαυλητικαία: Gifts were likewise made to the Bride from her Husband, Relations, and Friends, call'd sometimes ἀπαύλια, sometimes ἐπαύλια: These consisted of golden Vessels, Beds, Couches, Plates, Ointment-boxes, Combs, Sandals, and all sorts of Necessaries for house-keeping, which were carry'd in great State to the House by Women, who follow'd a Person call'd *καραβέγος* from carrying a Basket in the manner usual at Processions, before whom went a Boy in white Apparel with a Torch in his Hand: These Presents were likewise call'd ἀνακαλυπτικήα (e), and *Hesychius* will have the third Day to be call'd ἀνακαλυπτικεον, as if the Bride then first appear'd in publick: *Suidas* tells us the Gifts were so call'd, because she was then first shewn to her Bridegroom: For the same reason they

(a) γάμος. (b) Lib. III. cap. XV. (c) Lib. IV. (d) Vide *Pollucem* lib. III. cap. III. *Hesychium*, *Suidam*, *Etymologicum* *Auctorem*, *Thauserinum*, &c. in γ. ἐπαύλια & ἐπαυλία. (e) *Suidas*.

are sometimes call'd *θεώρητρα*, *ὀπθήεα*, *ἀδρήματα*, and *προσφθιγκτήρια*, because the Bride-groom had then Leave to converse freely with her; for Virgins before Marriage were under strait Confinement, being rarely permitted to appear in publick, or converse with Men; and, when allow'd that Liberty, wore a Veil over their Faces; this was term'd *καλυπτεν*, or *καλύπτρα*, and was not left off in the Presence of Men 'till this Time, whence some think the Bride was call'd *νύμφη ἀπὸ τ' νέον*, i. e. *πρώτης*, *φαίνεσθαι*, that being the first Time she appear'd in a publick Company unveil'd (a): Hence the Poets speak of *Pluto's* Gifts to *Proserpina*, when she unveil'd her self, as in those Verses of *Euphorion* cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* (b),

Τῇ ἔα ποτε Κερνίδης δῶκεν πόρε Περσεφονείῃ
Εἰνὲ γάμοις, ὅτε παρθὸν ὀπωπῆσασθαι ἔμαλλε,
Νυμφιδίᾳ ἀτίεστο θάλαλιν' ἄστα καλύπτραν.

Pluto to *Proserpine* a Present gave
When first she laid aside her maiden Veil,
And at the Marriage shew'd her self uncover'd.

There is a Story of the Sophister *Hermocrates* relating to this Custom that, having a Woman not very agreeable impos'd upon him by *Severus* the Roman Emperor, and being ask'd his *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* when she took off her Veil, he reply'd *ἐγκαλυπτήρια μὲν ἐν τοιαύτῳ λαμβάνων*, *It would be more proper to make her a Present to keep her Veil on, unless her Face was more acceptable.*

The Ceremonies of the *Spartan* Marriages being different from all others, I have reserv'd them for this Place, and shall set them down in *Plutarch's* own Words (c), "When the *Spartans* had a mind to marry, their Courtship was a sort of Rape upon the Persons they had a Phansy for, and those they chose not tender and half Children, but in the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for an Husband: Matters being agree'd between them, the *Νυμφούταια*, or Woman that contriv'd and manag'd the Plot, shav'd off the Bride's Hair close to her Skin, dress'd her up in Man's Cloaths, and left her upon a Mattress: This done, in comes the Bride-groom in his every-day Cloaths, sober and compos'd, as having sup'd at his Ordinary in the common Hall, and steals as privately as he can into the Room where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin Girdle, and takes her into his Embraces; thus having stay'd a short time with her, he returns to the rest of his Comrades,

(a) *Plutarchus* de Natura Deorum in *Nepesino*. (b) *Thanasius*. (c) *Lycurgus* p. 48. *Edic. Paris.*

"with whom he continues to spend his Life, remaining with them
 "as well by Night as by Day, unless he steals a short Visit to
 "his Bride, and that could not be done without a great deal of
 "Circumspection and Fear of being discover'd: Nor was she want-
 "ing (as may be suppos'd) on her Part, to use her Woman's Wit
 "in watching the most favourable Opportunities for their meeting,
 "and making Appointments when Company was out of the way.
 "In this Manner they liv'd a long time, insomuch that they fre-
 "quently had Children by their Wives before they saw their Faces
 "by Day-light: The Interview, being thus difficult and rare, serv'd
 "not only for a continual Exercise of their Temperance, and fur-
 "ther'd very much the Ends and Intentions of Marriage, but was
 "a means to keep their Passion still alive, which flags, and de-
 "cays, and dyes at last by two easy Access and long Continuance
 "with the belov'd Object".

CHAPTER XII.

Of their Divorces, Adulteries, Concubines, and Harlots.

THE Grecian Laws concerning Divorces were different; some permitted Men to put away their Wives on slight Occasions; the *Cretans* allow'd it any Man that was afraid of having too great a Number of Children; the *Athenians* likewise did it upon very small Grounds, but not without giving a Bill, wherein was contain'd the Reason of their Divorce, to be approv'd (if the Party divorc'd made an Appeal) by the chief Magistrate (a). The *Spartans*, tho' marrying without much Nicety in Choice, seldom divorc'd their Wives, for we read that *Lyfander* was fin'd by the Magistrates call'd *Ephori* on that account; and tho' *Aristo*, one of their Kings, put away his Wife with the Approbation of the City, yet that seems to have been done rather out of an earnest Desire to have a Son to succeed in his Kingdom, which he could not expect by that Woman, than according to the Custom of his Country (b). But, whatever Liberty the Men took, their Wives were under a greater Restraint, for it was extremely scandalous for a Woman to depart from her Husband, whence we find *Medea* in *Euripides* complaining of the hard Fate of her Sex, who had no Remedy against the Men's Unkindness, but were first under a Necessity of buying their Husbands with large

(a) Genial. Diet. lib. IV. cap. VIII. (b) *Herodotus* lib. VI. cap. LXIII.

Portions, and then to submit to their ill Usage without Hopes of Redress (a),

Πάντων δ', ὅς' ἐς ἑμψυχαὶ καὶ γνώμῃν ἔχει,
Γυναικὲς ἔσμεν ἀδελιώτατον φυτὸν
Ἀς παρ' ὅτα μὲν δέει χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ
Πίσιν ὑπάρδαναι, διαπτόν τε σώματος
Λαβεῖν· κακὸν γὰρ τὸ δ' ἔτ' ἀλγιον κακὸν,
Καὶν τὰ δ' ἀγὼν μέγιστος, ἢ κακὸν λαβεῖν,
Ἡ χρυσὸν· ἢ γὰρ ἀκλειεῖς ἀπαλλαγαί
Γυναιξίν, ἢ δ' οἶδον τ' ἀνῆναδαι πίσιν.

Of all those Creatures, to whom kinder Heav'n
Has Life and more exalted Reason giv'n,
We Women the most wretched Fate endure;
First Husbands we at highest Rates procure,
Then yield our selves submissive to their Pow'r:
But *foh!* the Curse, the Hazard lyes in this,
If he's unkind I chuse there's no Redress,
But good, or bad, I am for ever his;
Divorces are too scandalous to name,
And no Law suffers us to throw off them.

Mr. *Hutchins*.

The *Athenians* were somewhat more favourable to Women, allowing them to leave their Husbands upon just Occasions; only they could not do it without making Appeal to the *Archon*, and presenting him a Bill of their Grievances with their own Hands; *Plutarch* (b) has a Story of *Hipparete* *Alcibiades's* Wife, "who (he tells us) was a virtuous Lady, and fond of her Husband, but at last, growing impatient of the Injuries done to her, by his continual entertaining of *Curtizans*, as well Strangers as *Athenians*, she departed from him, and retir'd to her Brother *Callias's* House: *Alcibiades* seem'd not at all concern'd at it, living on still in his former lewd Course of Life; but the Law requiring that she should deliver to the *Archon* in Person, and not by a Proxy, the Instruments whereby she su'd for a Divorce, when in Obedience to it she presented her self before him, *Alcibiades* came in, took her away by Force, and carry'd her home thro' the Forum, no Man daring to oppose him, or take her from him, and she continu'd with him till her Death: Nor was this Violence to be thought a Crime, for the Law, in making her, who desires a Divorce, appear in

(a) *Modos* v. 230. (b) *Alcibiades*.

"publick, seems to design her Husband should have an Opportunity of discoursing with her, and endeavouring to retain her". Persons that divorc'd their Wives were oblig'd to return their Portions, as has been observ'd in the foregoing Chapter; if they fail'd to do that, the *Athenian* Laws oblig'd them to pay her nine *oboli* a Month for Alimony, which the Woman's Guardian was empower'd to sue for at the Court kept in the *Odeum* (a). It may be observ'd, lastly, that the Terms expressing Men and Women's Separation from each other were different; Men were said *ἀπομπέειν*, *ἀπολύειν*, *dimittere*, to dismiss their Wives, or loose them from their Obligation; but Wives, *ἀπελείπειν*, *divortiere*, *discedere*, to leave, or depart from their Husbands.

It was not unusual to dissolve the Marriage-tye by Consent of both Parties, and, that done, they were at liberty to dispose of themselves how they pleas'd in a second Match: An Instance hereof we have in *Plutarch*, who reports that, when *Pericles* and his Wife could not agree, and became weary of one another's Company, he parted with her, willing and consenting to it, to another Man (b). There is somewhat more remarkable in the Story of *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, who falling desperately in love with *Stratonice* his Mother in Law, marry'd her with his Father's Consent (c). The *Romans* had the same Custom, as appears from *Cato's* parting with his Wife *Martia* to *Horrensus*, which, as *Strabo* assures us, was a Thing not unusual, but agreeable to the Practice of the old *Romans* (d), and some other Countries.

What may appear more strange, is, that it was frequent in some Parts of Greece to borrow one another's Wives. We need not go to *Athens* for the Example of *Socrates*, who, we are told, lent his Wife *Xantippe* to *Alcibiades* (e), or for their Law which permitted Heiresses to make use of their Husband's nearest Relation, when they found him deficient; since we have so frequent Instances in *Sparta*, which was the least addicted to Debauchery, or Looseness of any of the *Grecian* Common-wealths, as being govern'd by the severest Laws, and kept under the most rigid Discipline: We have the following Account of their Practice in this Affair from *Plutarch* (f), "*Lycurgus* the *Spartan* Law-giver (he tells us) thought the best Expedient against Jealousy was to allow Men the Freedom of imparting the Use of their Wives to whom they should think fit, that so they might have Children by them; this he made a very commendable Piece of Liberality, laughing at those, who thought the Violation of their Bed such an insupportable Affront as to revenge it by Murders, and cruel Wars:

(a) *Demosthenes* Orat. in *Nearam*. (b) *Teriole*. (c) *Plutarchus* *Demetrio*, *Valerius* *Maximus* lib. V. cap. VII. (d) *Geograph.* lib. VII. (e) *Tertullianus* *Apolog.* cap. XXXIX. (f) *Lycargo*.

condemned any but his *He*

"He had a good opinion of that Man, who, being grown old,
 "and having a young Wife, should recommend some virtuous,
 "handsom young Man, that she might have a Child by him to inher-
 "rit the good Qualities of such a Father, and should love this Child
 "as tenderly, as if begotten by himself: On the other Side, an
 "honest Man, who had love for a marry'd Woman upon the
 "account of her Modesty, and the Well-favour'dness of her Chil-
 "dren, might with good Grace beg of her Husband his Wife's
 "Conversation, that he might have a Cyon of so goodly a Tree
 "to transplant into his own Garden; for *Lycurgus* was perswaded
 "that Children were not so much the Property of their Parents,
 "as of the whole Common-wealth, and therefore, would not
 "have them begotten by the first Comers, but by the best Men
 "that could be found: Thus much (proceeds my Author) is cer-
 "tain, that, so long as these Ordinances were observ'd, the Wo-
 "men were so far from that scandalous Liberty, which hath since
 "been objected to them, that they knew not what the Name of
 "Adultery meant". We are farther told by others, that Strangers,
 "as well as Citizens of *Sparta*, were allow'd the same Freedom with
 "their Wives, provided they were handsom Men, and likely to be-
 "get lusty and vigorous Children (a); yet we find their Kings were
 "exempt from this Law, that the Royal Blood might be preserv'd
 "unmix'd, and the Government remain in the same lineal Descent.

Notwithstanding this Liberty, which was founded upon mu-
 "tual Consent, they accounted all other Adulteries the most hei-
 "nous Crimes in the World, and, whilst they kept to their ancient
 "Laws, were wholly Strangers to them; for we are told by *Plu-
 "tarch* (b), "That *Geradas*, a primitive *Spartan*, being ask'd by a
 "Stranger, What Punishment their Law had appointed for Adulterers?
 "reply'd; There were no Adulterers in his Country: But, return'd the
 "Stranger, suppose there were one, and the Crime were prov'd against
 "him, how would you punish him? He answer'd, That the Offender must
 "pay to the Plaintiff a Bull with a Neck so long as that he might reach
 "over the Mountain *Taygetus*, and drink of the River *Eurotas* that
 "runs on the other Side: The Man, surpriz'd at this, said, Why, 'tis
 "impossible to find such a Bull: *Geradas* smilingly reply'd, 'Tis just as
 "possible to find an Adulterer in *Sparta*".

The Punishments inflicted upon Adulterers in *Greece* were of
 divers sorts, some of which are these that follow.

To begin with the Heroick Ages: If the Rapes of Women
 may be allow'd Room in this Place, we shall find they were re-
 veng'd by many cruel and bloody Wars: *Herodotus* makes them
 to have given the first Occasion to that constant Enmity that was
 kept up for many Ages between *Greece* and *Asia*, and never al-

(a) *Nicolaus* de moribus apud *Stolaeum* (b) *Loco citato.*

lay'd till the later was conquer'd, and become subject to the former (a); *Lycophron* agrees with *Herodotus*, and makes the Rape of *Io* by the *Phanicians* to have incens'd the *Grecians* against the Inhabitants of *Asia*, and after frequent Injuries committed, and Wars wag'd on both Sides, to have reduc'd the *Asian* Empire under the Dominion of the *Europeans* under *Alexander* of *Macedon*; the Poet's Words run thus (b),

Ολοιντο ναῦται πρὸς τα Καρῖται κούρις,

Οἱ δ' ἔβωδ' ὅπιν ταυρὸν ἀρδενον κόρην

Λέρνης ἀνηρέϊσαντο, φορητοὶ λύκοι,

Πλάτν πορεύσαι κῆρα Μεμφίτῃ πρὸς ἡμῶν,

Εχθρὰς δ' ὅπυσεν ἤσαν ὑπείροισ διπλάσις.

May those *Phanician* Saylor's be accurst,
That *Io* did convey from *Lerna* first,
Those savage Mariners, that forc'd the Maid
To be the Partner of *Osiris's* Bed,
And the two Empires thus embroyl'd in War.

Mr. Hutchin.

He goes on to enumerate the continual Quarrels between the two Continents till *Alexander's* Time. But however the Truth of this may be question'd, there being in those early Ages no Distinction of the World into *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, nor any common Association of those amongst themselves, or against the others; yet we have a remarkable Instance (to omit several others) of a long and bloody War occasion'd by *Paris's* Rape of *Helen*. But to bring some Instances, which may seem more pertinent to our present Design; what Sentence the Heroick Ages pass'd upon Adultery may appear, as from the Revenge of *Atrous* upon his Brother *Thyestes*, who was entertain'd at a Banquet with the Flesh of his own Son for defiling *Aerope Atrous's* Wife, and other Examples of the Cruelty of the Men of those Times against such as committed Adultery with their Wives, or other near Relations; so more clearly from the Punishments inflict'd by Laws, or Magistrates upon such Offenders, who were usually ston'd to Death; whence *Hector* in *Homer* tells *Paris* his Crime in stealing another Man's Wife deserv'd no less a Punishment than λῆϊνος χιτὼν, a stone Coat, which, if he had receiv'd his Demerits, he should have put on; meaning that nothing but this Death could expiate so black an Action,

Λῆϊνον ἔσοι χιτῶνα κακῶν ἐνέκ' ὅσατι ἔοργας (c).

For these your Crimes you had been ston'd to Death.

(a) Lib. I. initio. (b) *Cassandra* v. 1291. (c) *Iliad*. γ'.

The same Punishment seems to have been frequent in more Eastern Countries, the Jews were particularly oblig'd to inflict it both on Men and Women, as appears from the express Words of their Law (a). Rich Adulterers were sometimes allow'd to redeem themselves with Money, which was call'd μοιχάρεια, and paid to the Adulteress's Husband; whence, Mars being taken with Venus, Homer's Gods all agree that he must pay his Fine to Vulcan (b),

Οὐκ ἀρετῇ κακὰ ἔργα, κηχάνει τοι βραδὺς ὠκυῶ.
Ὡς κ' νῦν Ἡραϊστὸς ἐὼν βραδὺς εἶλεν Ἀρηα,
Ὡκύτατόν περ ἔντα θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι,
Χωλὸς εἶν, τέχνησι τὸ κ' μοιχάρει ὀφέλλει.

An ill Event do's still on Ills attend,
Not Mars's Swiftneſs cou'd the God defend
From limping Vulcan's moſt unerring Snare,
But in it he surpriz'd th' adult'rous Pair,
Therefore a greater Fine Mars ought to pay.

Mr. Hutchin.

Nor could Vulcan conſent to ſet his Priſoner at liberty, 'till Neptune engag'd for the Payment of it (c),

Τὸν δ' αὖτε παρθέειπε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
Ἡραϊς, εἴπω γάρ κεν Ἀρης χρεῖος ὑπαλύξας
Οἴηται φεύγων, αὐτὸς τοι ἐγὼ τὰ γε πῖσω.

Then Neptune, who the well-fix'd Earth doth ſhake
In anſwer to diſtruſting Vulcan ſpake;
"If you're afraid that Mars will play the Cheat,
"That he'll abſcond and never pay the Debt,
"I'll it diſcharge.

Mr. Hutchin.

It appears from the ſame Place to have been cuſtomary for the Woman's Father to return all the Dowry he had receiv'd of her Husband, for Vulcan is introduc'd threat'ning to ſecure both Mars and Venus in Chains 'till that was done (d),

Σφῶε δόλος κ' δεσμὸς ἐρύξει,
Εἰσέχε μοι μάλα πάντα πατήρ δαπνῶσει ἔσθνα,

(a) Deuteronom cap XXII. (b) Odyſſ. θ'. v. 329. ubi Græci Scholiaſtes conſulendus. (c) Ibid. v. 354. (d) V. 317.

Ὅσα οἱ ἐγγυάλιζα κυνώπιδος εἶνεκα κέρης,
Ὀύνεκά οἱ καλὴ θυγάτηρ, ἄτορ ἐκ ἐχέδουμος.

I'll not release them from the binding Chain
'Till I that Dowry have receiv'd again,
Which I for *Venus* to her Father paid
'Cause she was handfom, tho' a Jilt. —

Mr. *Hutchin*.

Some think this Sum was refunded by the Adulterer, because 'twas reasonable he should bear the Woman's Father harmless; since it appears not that *Mars's* Mule was a distinct Sum, for upon *Nepos's* becoming Surety for it, *Vulcan* loos'd him from his Bonds without farther Scruple.

Another Punishment was putting out the Eyes of Adulterers, which seems to have been no less ancient than the former, and may be thought just and reasonable, as depriving the Offendor of that Member, which first admits the Incentives of Lust. Fabulous Writers tell us, that *Orion*, having defil'd *Candiope*, or *Me-rope*, had his Eyes put out by *Oenopion*, whom some will have to be the Lady's Husband, others her Father (a): *Phanix* *Achilles's* Guardian suffer'd the same Punishment for defiling *Clytia* his Father's Concubine (b), which is thus express'd by *Lycophron* (c),

Τὸν πατεὶ πλείστον ἐσυγμύδον βροτῶν,
Οἰμερον ὅς νιν θῆκε τετρήνας λύχνες,
Ὅτ' εἰς νόθον τρήωνος πυνάδῃ λέχος.

The Object of *Amyntor's* greatest Hate,
And whom, since he his *Clytia* had defil'd,
He most inhumanly depriv'd of Sight.

Homer indeed has no mention of this Punishment, but only informs us, that his Father, having discover'd him, pray'd that he might never have any Children (d), which *Tzetzes* (e) thinks is meant by loosing his Eyes, because Children are dearer to Parents, and afford them greater Comfort than their most necessary Members; but this Interpretation is forc'd, and contrary to the Sense of *Mythologists* ancient as well as modern, who relate the Story agreeably to the literal Meaning of *Lycophron's* Words. The *Locrians* observ'd this Custom in later Ages, being oblig'd thereto by *Zaleucus* their Law-giver, whose Rigor in executing this Law is very remarkable; for having caught his Son in Adultery, he resolv'd to deprive him of Sight, and remain'd a long time in-

(a) *Natalis Comes Mytholog. Servius in Aeneid.* (b) *Apollodorus lib. III.*

(c) *Cassand. v. 421.* (d) *Iliad. i. v. 455.* (e) In *Lycophron. loc. citat.*

exorable, notwithstanding the whole City was willing to remit the Punishment, and requested him to spare the Youth; at length, unable to resist the People's Importunity, he mitigated the Sentence, and redeem'd one of his Son's Eyes by another of his own (a); so at once becoming a memorable Example of Justice and Mercy.

At Gortyn in Crete there was another Method of punishing Adulterers: They were cover'd with Wool, an Emblem of the Softness and Effeminacy of their Tempers, and in that Dress carry'd thro' the City to the Magistrate's House, who sentenc'd them to Ignominy, whereby they were depriv'd in a manner of all their Privileges, and their Share in managing publick Business (b).

It would be endless to enumerate all the Penalties order'd for these Offendors, I shall therefore pass to the Athenian Laws, when I have first acquainted you, that, if credit may be given to Pausanias (c); the first, who made a Law, and constituted Punishments against Adulterers, was Hyettus an Inhabitant of Argos; who having caught Molurus, the Son of Arisbas, too familiar with his Wife, flew him, and fled to Orchomenus the Son of Minyas, then King of that City of Boeotia, which bore his Name; the King receiv'd him kindly, and gave him Part of his Territories, where he call'd a Village Hyettus after his own Name, and establish'd severe Laws against Adultery.

The Athenian Punishments seem to have been arbitrary, and left to their supreme Magistrate's Discretion; whence we find Hippomenes, one of Codrus's Posterity, and Archon of Athens, pronouncing a very odd Sentence upon his own Daughter Limone, and the Man caught in Adultery with her; he yok'd them to a Chariot, 'till the Man dy'd; and afterwards shut up his Daughter with an Horse, and so starv'd her to Death (d). Some time after, Draco, being invested with Power to enact Laws, left Adulterers at the Mercy of any Man that caught them in the Act, who had free License to dismember, murder, or treat them in what other manner he pleas'd without being call'd to account for it; which Punishment was the same that had been before appointed for this Crime by Hyettus (e), and was continu'd afterwards by Solon (f). Several other Punishments were order'd by Solon against the same Crime when prov'd by Evidence in lawfull Judicature: A Man that ravish'd a free Woman was fin'd an hundred Drachms; one that entic'd her, twenty (g), or (as some say) two hundred; it being a greater Crime to violate a Woman's Mind, than her Body: But he that forc'd a free Virgin was to pay a thousand; and whoever deflower'd one, was oblig'd to marry her; whence

(a) Valerius Maximus lib. VI. cap. V. (b) Cælius Rhodiginus lib. XXI. cap. XLV. (c) Bæoticis p. 597. 598. Ed. Hanov. (d) Heraclides de Polit. Athen. (e) Pausanias loc. cit. Demosthenes in Aristocratem. (f) Plutarchus Solone, Lysias Orat. (g) Plutarchus loc. cit.

Plautus introduces one, who had corrupted a Man's Daughter, speaking to her Father thus (a),

*Siquid ego erga te imprudens peccavi, aut gnatam tuam,
Ut mihi ignoscas, eamque uxorem des, ut leges jubent.*

If, Sir, I've injur'd you I crave your Pardon,
And if I've wrong'd your Daughter's Chastity,
The Laws command it, and I'll marry her.

But if the Virgin, or her Mother had accepted any Present from her Gallant, he was not oblig'd to make her his Wife, but she was look'd on as a common Strumpet; whence *Sostrata* in *Terence* has these Words after her Daughter had been defil'd (b),

*Pejore res loco non potis est esse, quam in hoc, quo nunc sita est;
Primum indotata est; tum præterea, quæ secunda ei dos erat,
Periit, pro virgine dari nuptium non potest: Hoc reliquom est,
Si inficias ibit, testis mecum est annulus, quem amiserat:
Postremo, quando ego conscia mi sum, à me culpam esse hanc procul,
Neque pretium, neque rem ullam intercessisse illa, aut me indignam; Geta,
Experiar.*—

Matters were never worse than now they are;
For first she has no Portion; and for That,
Which might have been instead of one, she's lost;
So that she can't pass for a Virgin now:
I have but this one Thing that gives me Hopes,
If he deny't, the Ring he lost will prove it:
And *Geta*, since I know my Conscience clear,
Since I no By-ends had in this Mishap,
Nor took a Bribe, that I might blush to own,
I'll stand a Tryal with him at the Law.

Mr. Hutchin.

The *Athenians* had another Law, which seems enacted afterwards, obliging Persons that committed Rapes to pay a Mult twice as great as was requir'd for Adultery acted with the Woman's Consent. When a Man was clapt up on Suspicion of Adultery, he was allow'd to prefer his Appeal to the Magistrates call'd *Thesmo-thetæ*, who acquitted him, if he was able to purge himself; but if the Crime was prov'd against him, they had Power to lay on him, Death only excepted, what Punishment they pleas'd; nor could he be discharg'd till he had given Bail for his good Behaviour for the future. There was another remarkable Punishment for

(a) *Adulteraria.* (b) *Adelph. Act. III. Sc. II.*

Adulterers, call'd *παράνομος*, or *ερανοιδων*, the part being put for the whole; for, having pluck'd off the Hair from their Privities, they threw hot Ashes upon the Place, and thrust up a *Radish*, Mullet, or some such Thing into their Fundament, whence they were ever after term'd *παράνοτος*: *Juvenal* mentions this Usage (a),

— Quosdam machos & mugilis intrat.

And some Adulterers a Mullet bores.

But poor Men only were thus dealt with, the Rich being allow'd to bring themselves off with paying their Fine (b).

Women were treated with no less Severity than Men, for *Phylarch* tells us, that, if any Person discover'd his Sister, or Daughter, whilst unmarried, in this Crime, he was allow'd by *Solon's* Laws to sell her for a Slave: Adulteresses were never after permitted to adorn themselves with fine Cloaths; and, in case they appear'd to do so, were liable to have them torn off by any that met them, and likewise to be beaten, tho' not so as to be kill'd, or disabled; the same Liberty was permitted any that found them in the Temples, which were thought polluted by the Admission of Persons so infamous and detestable: Lastly, their Husbands, tho' willing to do it, were forbidden to cohabit any longer with them upon pain of *Ignominy*, or Disfranchisement (c); But Persons that prostituted Women, were adjudg'd to dye (d).

We have seen what the *Greeks* thought of Adultery, but they appear to have had a more favourable Opinion of Concubinage, it being permitted every where, and that without Scandal, to keep as many Concubines as they pleas'd; these they styl'd *παλλακίδες*, they were usually Women taken Captives, or bought with Money, and always inferiour to lawful Wives, whose Dowry, or noble Parentage, or some other Excellency gave them Preeminence: There is continual Mention of them in *Homer*; *Achilles* had his *Briseis*, and in her absence *Diomedes*, *Patroclus* his *Iphis*, *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, and (to mention no more) the wisest, gravest and eldest of them all, such as *Phanix* and *Nestor*, had their Women: Nor is it to be wonder'd that Heathens should run out into such Excesses, when the *Jews*, and those the most renown'd for Piety, such as *Abraham* and *David*, allow'd themselves the same Liberty. Yet the *Grecian* Wives always envy'd their Husbands this Freedom, looking on it as an Encroachment upon their Privileges; whence we find in *Homer*, that *Laertes*, tho' having a great Respect for his Slave *Ermyclæa*, never took her to his Bed for fear of his Wife's Displeasure (e),

(a) *Sat. X.* 317. (b) *Aristophanis Scholisastes Nubibus*. (c) *Demosthenes Orat. in Neeram.* (d) *Vide Leges Atticas* finelib. l. p. 161, 162. (e) *Odysseæ* v. 433.

Ἰσσι δὲ μιν κεδνῇ ἀλόχῳ πέν ἐν μεγάροισιν,
Εὐνῇ δ' ἔπειτ' ἔμικτο, χόλον δ' ἀλέεινε γυναικός.

Not his own Wife he lov'd above the Maid,
Yet never her admitted to his Bed,
The better to prevent domestick Strife.

Phanix's Mother perswaded him to defile his Father's Concubine
to free her of so troublesome a Rival, as himself relates the Story (a),

——— Λίπον Ελλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Φύζων νεκία πατρός Αμώτορος Ορμυρίδαο,
Ὅς μοι παλλακίδος πέρι χόσσιτο καλλικόμοιο,
Τῷ αὐτὸς φιλέσκειν, ἀπμάζεσκε δ' ἄκοιπιν,
Μητέξ' ἐμῷ ἢ δ' αἰέν ἐμὲ λιατέσκετο γένων
Παλλακίδι παραμυλῶναι, ἐν ἑχθήρει γέροντα,
Τῇ πατόμην, καὶ ἔρεξα. ———

Hellas I left to shun my Father's Hate,
Who for his violated *Miss* contriv'd my Fate:
For I mov'd with my Mother's earnest Pray'r,
(Who griev'd to see a Jilt prefer'd to her)
Debauch'd, to make him loath, his *Clytia*.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

More Instances may be collected, but it will suffice to add that
of *Chrysemnestra*, who, having slain her Husband *Agamemnon*, wreak'd
her Malice upon *Cassandra* his Concubine; whence *Seneca* has in-
troduc'd her speaking these Words (b),

*At ista pallas capite perfolvas suo
Captiva conjux, regii pellex tori;
Trahite, ut sequatur conjugem ereptum mihi.*

My Rival too, his Concubine, shall share;
The sad Effects of Rage for injur'd Love;
Drag out the captive Harlot, she that dar'd
Lewdly to violate the Royal Bed,
That she may follow him to th' Shades below.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Harlots were no less common than Concubines, being toler-
ated in most of the *Grecian*, and other Common-wealths: nor was

(a) *Iliad*, i. v. 447. (b) *Agamemnon*, v. 995.

the Use of them thought repugnant to good Manners; whence the Latin Comedian, speaking of Athens, saith

Non esse flagitium scortari hominem adolescentulum.

For Youth to wench and whore is not a Sin.

The wisest of the Heathen Sages were of 'the same Mind, for Solon allow'd common Whores to go publickly to those that hir'd them (a), and encourag'd the Athenian Youth to empty their Lust upon those, to hinder them from making Attempts upon the Wives and Daughters of his Citizens; Philemon has elegantly express'd that Law-giver's Design in the following Fragment (b),

Εὖ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὖρες ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων
 Σε γὰρ λέγουσι τὸτ' ἰδεῖν περὶτον βροτῶν,
 Δημοπικόν, ὦ Λεῦ, περὶγμα, καὶ σωτήριον,
 (καὶ μοι λέγειν τὸτ' ἔστιν ἄρμοςδόν, Σόλων)
 Μισλῶ ὄρωντα τ' πάλιν νεωτέρων,
 Τέτεις τ' ἔχοντας τ' ἀναγκάαν φύσιν,
 Ἀμαρτάνοντας τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσήκον ὦν,
 Στήσαι περιάμενον γυναικάς καὶ τέτεις
 Κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας
 Ἐσῶσι γυμναί, μὴ ἔαπατηθῆς, πάνθ' ὅρα
 Οὐκ εἴ σταντὲ τυλχάνεις ἔχων; ἔχεις
 Πῶς ἢ θύρα σοι ἔσται ἀν' ἀνεργωμένη
 Εἰς ὁλοός· εἰσπήδησον· ἐκ ἑς' ἐδεῖς
 Ἀκκισμός, ἐδεῖ λήρως, ἐδ' ὑφαρπαγή·
 Ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὥς βέλει σὺ, καὶ συχρὸν τρέπον·
 Ἐξηλθες; οἰμώζειν λέγ', ἀλλοτεία' εἰ σοι.

Cato the Roman Censor was of the same Opinion, as appears from the known Story, that, meeting a young Nobleman of Rome coming out of a common Stews, he commended him for diverting himself in that Place, as we read in Horace (c),

*Quidam notus homo, cum exiret fornice, macte
 Virtute esto, inquit, semenia dia Catonis,
 Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
 Huc juvenes æquum est descendere.*——

(a) Plutarchus Solone. (b) Delfia. (d) Lib. I. Sat. II. v. 31.

When from the Stews a certain Noble came,
 This, says he, was the Heav'nly *Cato's* Theme,
 "Go on brave Youth, and may you e'er succeed,
 "And never be abash'd to own the Deed;
 "When Lust and burning Love swell ev'ry Vein
 "'Tis lawful to come here, and quench the gen'rous Flame.

Mr. Hutchin.

I forbear to mention other Instances, the Testimony of *Cicero* being sufficient to confirm what I have said, when he challenges all Persons to name any Time, wherein *Men* were either reprov'd for this Practice, or not countenanc'd in it (a): Nor can it be wonder'd, that Heathens allow'd themselves this Liberty, when the *Jews* look'd on it as lawful; they were indeed forbidden to commit Adultery, and Fornication also was prohibited under severe Penalties, but these (as *Grotius* (b) observes) were thought to concern only Women of their own Nation, their Law not extending to Foreigners; and we find accordingly that publick Stews were openly tolerated amongst them, and Women residing there taken into the Protection of the Government, as appears from the two Harlots, that contended about a Child, and were heard in open Court by King *Solomon* (c): But the *Jewish* Women were not permitted to prostitute their Bodies, and therefore strange, or foreign, Women, are sometimes taken for Harlots, as when *Solomon* advises his Son to embrace *Wisdom* and *Understanding*, that they may keep him from the STRANGE Woman, from the STRANGER, which flattereth with her Words (d); and to arm him against the Allurements of Harlots, He tells him, The Lips of a STRANGE Woman drop as an Honey-comb, and her Mouth is smoothen than Oil, but her End is bitter as Wormwood, sharp as a two-edg'd Sword (e). The Athenians, as in many other Things, so here had the same Custom with the *Jews*; for tho' severe Penalties were laid on such as defil'd Women that were Citizens of *Athens*, yet Foreigners had the Liberty of keeping publick Stews, and their Harlots were for that Reason, like those amongst the *Jews*, call'd *ἑτέροι*, strange Women.

The Harlots of primitive Ages were not so wholly divested of all Modesty as afterwards; for they never went abroad bare-fac'd, but, as was the Custom of other Women, cover'd themselves with Veils, or Masks: Nor were they allow'd (as some think) to prostitute themselves within the Cities (f); which Custom seems to have been deriv'd from the Eastern Nations, for we find *Tamar* in *Genesis* (g), when she had a mind to appear like an Harlot,

(a) Orat. pro *M. Caelio*. (b) In *Matthai* cap. V. 27. (c) I *Reg.* III. 16.
 (d) *Proverb.* VII. 4, 5. (e) *Proverb.* V. 3, 4. (f) *Chrisostomus* citante *Grotio*
 in *Matthai* cap. V. 27. (g) *Cap.* XXXVIII. 15.

covering her self with a Veil, and sitting in an open Place by the Way :^a Timnath : But, it may be, her Design in placing her self there was only that she might meet with Judah, or his Son, whom she desir'd to entice to her Embraces : We find however, that in After-ages, when Harlots were certainly permitted to reside in Cities, they us'd to post themselves in the High-ways, as Places of Resort ; in Solomon's Reign they frequented the Cities, for, speaking of an Harlot, he saith, *She is loud and stubborn, her Feet abide not in her House ; now is she without, now in the STREETS, and lieth in wait at every Corner (a) ;* yet some Ages after, when 'tis certain they were no more restrain'd from abiding in Cities than in Solomon's Days, they resorted to Places of general Concourse out of them, such as High-ways, especially where several Ways met, and had Tents erected to wait in for Custom ; hence (to omit other Instances) those Words of *Ezekiel*, *Thou hast built thy high Place at every Head of the Way, and hast made thy Beauty to be abhorr'd, and hast open'd thy Feet to every one that pass'd by, and multiply'd thy Whoredoms (b) .* Again, *Thou buildest thine eminent Place in the Head of every Way, and makest thy high Place in every Street (c) .*

In some Places Harlots were distinguish'd from other Women by their Apparel ; whence those Words of Solomon (d), *There met him a Woman with the Attire of an Harlot, and subtil of Heart.* What sort of Habit this was, is not certain ; but if the *Athenian* Custom was in this, as in many other Things, taken from the *Jews*, we may conclude that their Whores wore flower'd Garments ; for the *Athenian* Law-giver, thinking it necessary to distinguish Women of innocent Conversation from Harlots by some open and visible Mark, order'd that those should never appear abroad but in grave and modest Apparel, and the rest should always wear flower'd Garments.

Corinth is remarkable for being a Nursery of Harlots ; there being in that City a Temple of *Venus*, where the readiest Method of gaining the Goddess's Favour was to present her with beautiful Daniels, who from that Time were maintain'd in the Temple, and prostituted themselves for Hire ; we are told by *Strabo* (e), that there were no less than a thousand there at a Time : These were a gentiler sort of Harlots, and admitted none to their Embraces, but such as were able to depolite a considerable Sum, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (f),

Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐταίρας παρὶ τὰς Κορινθίας,
Ὅταν μὲ αὐτὰς πρὸς πένης ὦν τύχη,
οὐδὲ προσέχειν ἢ νέον· ἐὰν δὲ πλῆστιος,
τὸν περὶ αὐτὰς εὐδὺς ὡς τῶτον πρέπειν.

(a) Proverb. VII. 11. (b) Cap. XVI. 25. (c) Ibid. com. 31. (d) Prov. VII. 10. (e) Lib. VIII. (f) *Plut. A&C.* I. Sc. II.

This gave occasion to the proverb,

Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον εἶδ' ὁ πᾶς.

Which *Horace* has thus translated,

Non cuius hominum contingit adire Corinthum.

To *Corinth* ev'ry Person cannot sail.

Some rather refer it to the famous *Corinthian* Strumpet *Lais*, and others assign other Reasons. Their Occupation indeed was very gainful, insomuch that those, whom Beauty and Parts recommended, frequently rais'd great Estates; a remarkable Instance here-of we have in *Phryne*, who offer'd the *Thebans* to rebuild the Walls of their City, when demolish'd by *Alexander*, on condition they would engrave on them this Inscription,

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΣΚΑΥΕΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕ ΔΕ ΦΡΥΝΗ
Η ΕΤΑΙΡΑ.

I. e. These Walls were demolish'd by Alexander, but rais'd by Phryne the Harlot.

To render their Conversation more acceptable to Men of Parts and Quality they frequently employ'd their vacant Hours in the Study of *Mathematicks* and other Sciences, frequenting the Schools and Company of Philosophers; *Aspasia*, *Pericles's* belov'd Mistress, us'd to converse with *Socrates*, and arriv'd to such a Pitch in Learning, that many of the *Athenians* resorted to her on account of her Rhetorick and Abilities of Discourse; the most grave and serious amongst them frequently went to visit her, and carry'd their Wives with them, as it were, to Lecture, to be instructed by her Conversation; *Pericles* himself us'd her Advice in the Management of publick Affairs; and after his Death one *Lyficles*, a silly and obscure Clown, by keeping her Company came to be a chief Man at *Athens* (a): Several other Examples of this sort occur in Authors, as of *Archianassa* the *Colophonian*, who was *Plato's* Mistress; *Herpyllis*, who convers'd with *Aristotle* 'till his Death, and bore him a Son call'd *Nicomachus*; lastly (to mention no more) *Leontium*, who frequented *Epicurus's* Gardens, there prostituting her self to the Philosophers, especially *Epicurus* (b).

(a) *Plutarchus Pericle.* (b) *Athenaus lib. XIII.*

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Confinement, and Employments of their Women.

THE barbarous Nations, and amongst them the *Persians* especially (saith (a) *Plutarch*) were naturally jealous, clownish and morose towards their Women, not only their Wives, but their Slaves and Concubines; whom they kept so strictly that never any one saw them beside their own Family: When at home, they were cloyster'd up; when they took a Journey, they were carry'd in Coaches, or Waggon, close cover'd at the Top and on all Sides: Such a Carriage, my Author tells us, was prepar'd for *Themistocles*, when he fled into *Persia*, to keep him secret; so that the Men who convey'd him, told all they met and discours'd with upon the Road, that they were carrying a young *Grecian* Lady out of *Ionia* to a Noble-man at Court.

By the manner of *Plutarch's* relating this Story it may be perceiv'd that neither he, nor his Country-men the *Greeks* approv'd of the Severity us'd by barbarous Nations toward their Women; yet themselves, tho' remitting something of the *Persian* Rigor, kept their Women under strict Discipline, and were no less excell'd by the *Romans* in their Behavior to them, than themselves surpass'd the *Barbarians*; for whereas the *Roman* Women were allow'd to be present at publick Entertainments, and to converse with the Guests, and were complemented by their Husbands with the best Rooms in their Houses; those of *Greece* rarely, or never appear'd in strange Company, but were confin'd to the most remote Parts of the House (b).

To this end the *Grecian* Houses were usually divided into two Parts, in which the Men and Women had distinct Mansions assign'd: The Part, wherein the Men lodg'd, was towards the Gate, and call'd ἀνδρῶν, or ἀνδρωνίτις; the Part assign'd for the Women was term'd γυναικῶν, γυναικωνίτις, or γυναικωνίτις, it was the farthest Part of the House, and behind the αὐλή, before which there were also other Parts call'd προδῶμος and προαύλιον: The Sons of *Priam* in *Homer* are all plac'd by themselves and separate from his Daughters, who were in more remote Places (c),

(a) *Themistocle*. (b) *Cornelius Nepos*. Præfat. in vitas excellent. Imperatorum. (c) *Iliad*. 2^e. v. 242.

Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πειάμοιο δῖμον περικαλλέ' ἴκασσι,
 Ξεῖπ' αἰδέσθῃσι τετυγμένον, αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
 Πεντήκοντ' ἐνεσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίδοιο,
 Πλοστον ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἔνθα δὲ παῖδες
 Κοιμῶντο Πειάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῆρ' ἀλόχοισι
 Κυράων δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς,
 Δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγροι θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίδοιο
 Πλοστοὶ ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι.——

At Priam's Royal Palace he arriv'd,
 In which were fifty beauteous Rooms contriv'd
 Of polish'd Stones, by one another joyn'd,
 And these were for his marry'd Sons design'd;
 Twelve gawdy Rooms were built with equal Art
 O'th' other Side, but these were set apart
 For Priam's Daughters.——

Mr. Hutchin.

Where it may be observ'd, that the Women's Chambers are call'd
 τέγροι θάλαμοι, as being plac'd at the Top of the House; for the
 Women's Lodgings were usually in the uppermost Rooms, as
Eustathius remarks upon this Passage (a), which was another Means
 to keep them from Company: Hence *Helen* is said to have had
 her Chamber in the loftiest Part of the House (b),

Ἡ δ' εἰς ὑψόροπον θάλαμον κτε δῖα γυναικῶν.

Into the upper Chamber *Helen* went.

Penelope appears to have lodg'd in such another Place, to which
 she ascended by a κλίμαξ, whence the same Poet,

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλῷ κατεβήσατο οἷο δόμοιο.

By a long Ladder came down from her Room.

This signifies a Stair-case; but in this Place may as well denote a
 Ladder, which seems to have been us'd in those Days, when Ar-
 chitecture was not much understood; whence *Antigone* in *Euri-
 pides* calls out to her Guardian to help her up (c),

(a) P. 409. Ed. Basil. (b) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 423. (c) *Phæniſſ*. v. 103.

Ορεγε νῦν, ὄρεγε γεραίαν
 Νέα χεῖρ' ὑπὸ κλιμάκων,
 Πόδ' ὅς ἱχνος ἐπαντέλλων.

Reach out your Hand, and help me up the Ladder.

These upper Rooms were sometimes, especially at *Lacedemon*, call'd *ῥῶα*, *ῥῶα*, or *ὑψῆα*, which Words being distinguish'd only by Accent (the Use whereof seems not to have been known by the ancient *Grecians*) from *ῶα*, Eggs, are thought by some to have ministred occasion to the Inventors of Fables to feign that *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Helen*, and *Clytemnestra* were hatch'd out of Eggs, when they were born in one of these Lofts, or upper Chambers.

The Women were straitly confin'd within their Lodgings, such especially as had no Husbands, whether Virgins, or Widows (a), whereof the former were most severely look'd to, as having less Experience in the World; their Apartment, which was call'd *παρδενών*, was usually well guarded with Locks and Bolts, whence *Agamemnon* in *Euripides* desiring *Clytemnestra* to go home, and look after the Virgins, which, he tells her, were by no means to be left in the House alone, receives this Answer (b),

Οὐχ ὅτι παρδενῶσι φρενὲν τι καλῶς.

They're close kept up in their well-guarded Lodgings.

Sometimes they were so straitly confin'd, that they could not pass from one Part of the House to another without Leave; whence *Antigone* in *Euripides* obtains her Mother's Leave to go to the Top of the House to view the *Argian* Army that besieg'd *Thebes*; notwithstanding which her Guardian searches the Passage, for fear any Person should have a sight of her, which, he says, would be a Reflection upon her Honour, and his own Fidelity; the old Man's Words are thus address'd to the young Princess (c),

ὦ κλεινὸν οἴκοις, Ἀντιγόνη, δάλος πατεῖ,
 Ἐπεὶ σε μήτηρ παρδενῶναι ἐκλιπῆν
 Μεδίκε, μελάρων δ' ἐς δῆρες ἔρατον
 Στράτευμα ἰδεῖν Ἀργεῖον, ἱκεσίαισι σῶς,
 Ἐπίχες, ὥς ἂν ἀν' ὑπερσυνήσω σῖτον,
 Μὴ τις πολὺς ἐν τείλει φαντάζεται,

(a) *Harpocration*. (b) *Iphigen. in Aulid.* v. 738. (c) *Euripid. Phœniss.* v. 88.

Κάμοι μ' ἔλθοι φαῦλος ὡς δέλω ψόγος,
Σοὶ δ' ὡς ἀνάσση. ———

But you, *Antigone*, my royal Charge,
The blooming Glory of your Father's House,
Stir not, tho' suffer'd by your Mother's Leave
Some time from your Apartment to withdraw,
And to ascend the House's lofty Top,
From thence the *Argian* Forces to survey,
But stay 'till first I see the Way be clear,
That by a Citizen you be not seen;
For that would much reflect upon my Care,
And from your royal Honour derogate.

New-marry'd Women were almost under as strict a Confinement as Virgins: *Hermione* is severely reprov'd by the old Woman that waited on her, for appearing out of Doors, which was a Freedom (she tells her) like to endanger her Reputation (a),

Ἀλλ' εἰσιθ' εἶπω, μηδὲ φαντάζεσθαι δόμων
Πάρεσιδε πάνδε, μή πιν' αἰχμύλῳ λάβης
Πρόσθεν μελάρων τῶν δ' ὀρωμένη, τέκνον.

Go in, nor stand thus gazing at the Doors,
Lest you lament the Scandal you'll procure,
Shou'd you be seen before the Hall t' appear.

Menander, as cited by *Stobæus* (b), says expressly that the Door of the αὐλή was the farthest a marry'd Woman ought to go, and reproves one for exceeding those Limits,

Τὺς ἢ γαμετῆς ὅρας ὑπερβαίνεις, γυναῖκα,
Διὰ τ' αὐλάν' πέρας γὰρ αὐλῆος δύρα
Ἐλευθέρα γυναικὶ νενόμισ' οἰκίας.

You go beyond the marry'd Women's Bounds,
And stand before the Hall, which is unfit;
The Laws do not permit a free-born Bride
Farther than to the Doors o'th' House to go.

But when they had once brought a Child into the World, they were no longer under so strict Confinement, whence μήτηρ, a Mo-

(a) *Andromache* v. 876. (b) *Serm.* LXXII.

ther, is by some deriv'd ἐκ τοῦ ἴου μὴ τηρεῖσθαι, from her being no longer under *Keepers* (a): Yet what Freedom they then enjoy'd, was owing wholly to the Kindness of their Husbands, for such as were jealous kept their Wives in perpetual Imprisonment; whence a Woman in *Aristophanes* makes this complaint of the severe Treatment the *Athenian Wives* met with (b),

——— Ταῖς γυναικάνισιν
Σφραγίδας ἐπὶ δαίλυσιν ἦδην, καὶ μοχλὰς,
Τηρῶντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ προσέτι Μολαπτικὰς
Τρέφουσι, μορμολυκεῖα τοῖς μοιχοῖς, κυῖας.

But strictly us poor Women they confine
Within our Chambers under Lock and Key,
Make use of Mastiffs, Goblins, any Thing,
That may Adulterers affright.———

Mr. Hutchin.

However Husbands might be of a better Temper, yet it was look'd on as very undecent for Women to gad abroad; whence we find several proverbial Speeches and Allusions, intimating the Duty of Wives to stay at home: such is that cited by *Enstathius* out of *Euripides* (c),

Ενδὸν γυναικῶν καὶ παρ' οἰκέτας λόγῳ.

Women shou'd keep within Doors, and there talk.

To the same purpose was *Phidias's* Emblem representing *Venus* treading upon a *Tortoise* (d), which carrys it's House upon it's Back.

When they went abroad, or appear'd in publick, they cover'd their Faces with Veils; as we find of *Penelope*, when she descended from her Apartment to converse with the young Gentlemen that courted her (e),

Ἡ δ', ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο δῖα γυναικῶν,
Στῆ ἔα παρὰ σιδυμὸν τέρας πύκα πομπόιο,
Ἀντα παρειῶν γομφίη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα.

Then from her Lodging went the beauteous Dame,
And to her much expecting Courtiers came,
There veil'd before the Door she stood.

(a) Etymologici Auctor. (b) *Theophrastus* p. 774. Ed. *Amstel.* (c) *Iliad.* s. p. 429. Ed. *Bas.* (d) *Plutarchus* de præcept. Connub. (e) *Od.* s. v. 208.

The Veil was so thin, as that they might see thro' it; which appears from these Words of *Iphigenia* (a),

Εγὼ δ' λεπτὸν ὄμμα δὲ καλυμμάτων
Εχὼς, ἀδελφὸν σθένει εἰλεμὴν χερσίν,
Ὅς νῦν ὄλωεν. ———

Seeing my Brother thro' my thinnest Veil,
I took him by the Hand, who now is dead.

The *Athenians* had a Law, that Women should not go abroad in the Night, except in a Chariot, and with a Lamp, or Torch carry'd before them: This was design'd as a Remedy against private Assignations.

It was likewise customary for them to have Attendants; whence *Penelope* has two Maids with her (b),

Ὡς φαιμένη, κατέβαν' ὑπαρῶϊα σιγαλόντα,
Οὐκ οἶν' ἄμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δὴ ἔποντο.

She said, and from her Chamber strait descends,
Two Maids upon her Person wait. ———

These seem to have been Women of some Age and Gravity, whence *Homer* presently subjoyns,

Ἀμφίπολος δὲ ἄρα οἱ κεδνὴ ἐχάρτερε παρέστη.

A Maid whose Years a riper Judgment shew'd
On either Side t' attend the Lady stood.

Nor did these Women attend their Ladies when they went abroad only, but kept them company at home, had the care of their Education, when young, and are therefore call'd *τροφοί*. Nor were Women only appointed to this Charge, for *Anigone* in the fore-cited Tragedy of *Euripides* has an old Man for her Governour: It was likewise frequent to commit Women to *Eunuchs*, who perform'd all the Offices of Maids, and were usually entertain'd by Persons of Quality; whence *Phædria* speaks thus to his Mistress (c),

————— *Eunuchum porro dixi velle te,
Quia sole utuntur his regine.*

An *Eunuch* Boy was your peculiar Choice,
Since on great Ladies they do chiefly wait.

(a) *Euripid. Iphigen. Taur. v. 372.* (b) *Odyss. loc. cit.* (c) *Terentii Eunuch. Act 1. Sc II.*

The first that made Eunuchs, was *Semiramis* (a): The barbarous Nations were ordinarily much fonder of them than *Greeks* (b), who look'd on it as an inhuman Piece of Cruelty to use Men after that Manner; *Phocylides* has left a particular Caution against it (c),

Μηδ' αὖ πεισογόνον ποτὲ τέμνειν ἀρσενά κῆρον.

Nor ever castrate a brisk, vig'rous Youth.

The primitive Ages us'd their Women agreeably to the Simplicity of their Manners, they accustom'd them to draw Water, to keep Sheep, and feed Cows, or Horses: The rich and noble were taken up with such Employments as well as those of inferior Quality; *Rebecca* the Daughter of *Bethuel*, *Abraham's* Brother, carry'd a Pitcher, and drew Water (d); *Rachel*, the Daughter of *Laban*, kept her Father's Sheep (e); *Zipporah*, likewise with her six Sisters had the care of their Father *Jethro's* Flocks, who was a Prince, or (which in those Times was an Honour scarce inferior) Priest of *Midian* (f): The like may be observ'd of *Andromache*, *Hector's* Lady, in *Homer* (g), where that Hero thus bespeaks his Horses,

Ξάνθε τε, καὶ σὺ Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων, Λάμπε τε δῖε,
Νῦν μοι ἔ κομιδίῳ ἐποπίνετον, ὡς μάλα πολλὴν
Ἀνδρομάχην, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡτιάδου,
Τῶν παρ' προτέρους μελίφρονα πυρρὴν ἔθηκεν,
Οἷόν τ' ἐγκράσιστα πίνειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνέχοι (h).

My mettled Steeds, *Xanthus* with yellow Main,
Podargus, you, who fleetly beat the Plain,
Ethon, who furiously sustain't the Fight,
And *Lampus*, thou, whose Flanks are slick and bright,
Now see my Corn you carefully repay,
With Courage bear the Labour of the Day,
Since my dear Wife, when you inclin'd to eat,
Hath mingled strength'ning Liquor with your Meat.

Mr. *Abell*.

The most common Employments of Women were spinning, weaving, and making all sorts of Embroidery, or Needle-work; Instances of this nature are too numerous to be recited in this Place, for so constantly were they taken up in these Businesses, that

(a) *Ammianus Marcellinus* Hist. lib. XIV. (b) *Philostratus* Vit. *Apollonii Tyanei* lib. I. cap. XXI. (c) V. 175. (d) *Genes.* XXIV, 15. (e) *Ibid.* XXIX, 6. (f) *Exod.* II, 16. (g) *Iliad* 6. v. 185. (h) Vide *Commentarium nostrum* in *Lycophron.* 91.

most Houses, where there was any Number of Women, had Rooms set apart for these Uses, which seem to have been near the Women's Apartments, if not the same; for *Pollux* enumerating the different Rooms in Houses, after he has mention'd *γυναικείον*, presently adds, *ἰὼν δ' ἄλλος, ταλασουργὸς οἶκος, &c.*

Women had likewise several other Employments, the Provision of all Necessaries within Doors being usually committed to them: I shall not insist on Particulars, only shall observe in the last Place, that their Usage was very different according to the Temper of their Husbands or Guardians, the Value of their Fortunes, and the Humour of the Place, or Age they liv'd in.

The *Lacedemonian* Women observ'd Fashions quite differing from all their Neighbours; their Virgins went abroad bare-fac'd, the marry'd Women were cover'd with Veils; the former designing (as *Charillus* reply'd to one that enquir'd the Reason of that Custom) to get themselves Husbands, whereas the later aim'd at nothing more than keeping those they already had (a). We have a large Account of the *Spartan* Women's Behaviour in the following Words of *Plutarch* (b), "In order to the good Education of their Youth (which is the most important Work of a Law-giver) *Lycurgus* went so far back as to take into consideration their very Conception and Birth, by regulating their Marriages: For *Aristotle* wrongs the Memory of this excellent Person, by bearing us in hand, that, after he had try'd all manner of Ways to reduce the Women to more Modesty, and Subjection to their Husbands, he was at last forc'd to leave them as they were; because that in the Absence of their Husbands, who spent a great Part of their Lives in the Wars, their Wives made themselves absolute Mistresses at home, and would be treated with as much Respect as if they had been so many Queens: But by his good Leave it is a Mistake; for *Lycurgus* took for that Sex all the care that was possible: For an Instance of it, he order'd the Maidens to exercise themselves with Running, Wrestling, throwing Quoits, and casting Darts, to the end that the Fruit they conceiv'd might take deeper Root, grow strong, and spread it self in healthy and vigorous Bodies, and withall that they might be more able to undergo the Pains of Child-bearing: And to the end he might take away their over-great Tendernefs and Nicety, he order'd they should appear naked as well as the Men, and dance too in that Condition at their solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, singing certain Songs, whilst the young Men stood in a Ring about them, seeing and hearing them: In these Songs they now and then gave a Satyrical Glance upon those who had misbehav'd themselves in the Wars; sometimes sung Encomiums upon

(a) *Plutarchum Apophthegmat. Laconicis.* (b) *Lycurgo.*

"those who had done any gallant Action, and by these means
 "inflam'd young Men with an Emulation of their Glory: For
 "those that were thus commended went away brave and well sa-
 "tisfy'd with themselves; and those that were rally'd, were as sensi-
 "bly touch'd with it, as if they had been formally and severely
 "reprimanded; and so much the more because the Kings, and
 "whole Senate saw and heard all that pass'd. Now tho' it may
 "seem strange that Women should appear thus naked in publick,
 "yet was true Modesty observ'd, and Wantonness excluded; and
 "it tended to render their Conversation free and unreserv'd, and
 "to beget in them a Desire of being vigorous and active, and fill'd
 "them with Courage and generous Thoughts, as being allow'd
 "their Share in the Rewards of Virtue as well as Men: Hence
 "came that Sence of Honour and Nobleness of Spirit, of which
 "we have an Instance in *Gorgo*, the Wife of King *Leonidas*, who,
 "being told in Discourse with some foreign Ladies, That the Wo-
 "men of *Lacedemon* were They only of the World, who had an
 "Empire over the Men, briskly repartee'd, that there was good Rea-
 "son, *For they were the only Women that brought forth Men*. Lastly,
 "these publick Processions of the Maidens, and their appearing
 "naked in their Exercises and Dancings, were Provocations and
 "Baits to stir up and allure the young Men to Marriage, and that
 "not upon Geometrical Reasons, as *Plato* calls them (such are In-
 "terest, and Equality of Fortune) but from the Engagements of
 "true Love and Affection.

Afterwards, when *Lycurgus's* Laws were neglected, and the *Spar-
 tans* had degenerated from the strict Virtue of their Fore-fathers, their
 Women also were ill spoken of, and made use of the Freedom,
 which their Law-giver allow'd them, to no good Purposes; in-
 somuch that they are censur'd by ancient Writers for their Wan-
 tonness, and excessive Desire of unlawful Pleasures, and branded
 by *Euripides*, as cited by *Plutarch* (a), with the Epithet of
ἀνδρὸμαχέας, i. e. possess'd with furious Love of, and, as it were,
 running mad after Men.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of their Customs in Child-bearing, and managing Infants.

THOSE, who desir'd to have Children, were usually very
 liberal in making Presents and Offerings to the Gods, espe-
 cially to such as were thought to have the care of Generation :

(a) *Numa.*

I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Account of the Names of these Deities, and the Manner they were worship'd in; but it may be requisite to observe, that the *Athenians* invok'd on this account certain Gods call'd *Τειτοπάτορες*, or *Τειτοπάτρες*: Who these were, or what the Origination of their Name, is not easy to determine; *Orpheus*, as cited by *Phanodemus* in *Suidas*, makes their proper Names to be *Amacrides*, *Proctoles*, and *Proctoleon*, and will have them to preside over the Winds; *Demo* makes them to be Winds themselves; but what Business the Winds, or their Governours have in Generation, is difficult to imagine: Another Author in the same *Lexicographer* tells us, their Names were *Cottus*, *Briareus*, and *Gyges*, and that they were the Sons of *Οὐρανός* and *Γῆ*, i. e. *Heaven* and *Earth*; *Philochorus* likewise makes *Earth* their Mother, but, instead of *Heaven*, substitutes the *Sun*, or *Apollo*, for their Father; whence he seems to account as well for their being look'd on as Superintendents of Generation, as for the Name of *Τειτοπάτορες*, for being immediately descended from two immortal Gods, themselves (saith he) were thought *τείτοι πατέρες*, the third Fathers, and therefore might well be esteem'd the common Parents of Mankind, and from that Opinion derive those Honours, which the *Athenians* paid them as the Authors and Presidents of human Generation (a).

The Goddess, who had the care of Women in Child-bed, was call'd *Εἰλείθυα*, or *Εἰλόθυα*, sometimes *Ελευθώ*, as in the Epigram,

————— *Μόχθον Ελευθῆς*

Εκφύγες. —————

You're past the Pangs, o'er which *Eleutho* reigns.

She is call'd in *Latin* *Lucina*: Both have the same Respects paid by Women, and the same Titles and Epithets: *Elithyia* is call'd by *Nonnus* (b),

————— *Αἰήτων Σιλυτερῶν.*

The succouring Deity in Child-birth.

Ovid speaks in the same manner of the *Latin* Goddess (c),

————— *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.*

Lucina kind to reeming Ladies.

(a) Vide *Suidam*, *Etymologici* *Auctorem*, *Phavorinum*, *Hesychium*, &c.

(b) *Dionysiacis*. (c) *Fast.* lib. II.

The Woman in Theocritus invokes *Elishyia* (a),

Ενθα γδ Ειλείθυα ἐβόσατο λυσίζωνον.

For there thy Mother t' *Elishyia* prays
To ease her *Throws*.——

The Roman Women call'd for *Lucina's* Assistance; whence *Ovid*,

——Tu voto parturientis ades.

You kindly Women in their *Travail* hear.

Several other Things are common to both, for as *Elishyia* is styl'd ὠδίνων ἐπαγωγός, δηλειῶν σώτῆρας, &c. so likewise *Lucina* was grac'd with various Appellations denoting her Care of Women. Their Names indeed appear to have distinct Originals, yet both have Relation to the same Action; for Ειλείθυα is deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλδῆν, from coming; either because she came to assist Women in Labour, or rather from her being invoc'd to help the Infant ἐρχοῦς εἰς τὸ φῶς, to come into the Light, or the World; *Lucina* is taken from *lux*, Light, for the same Reason, according to *Ovid*,

——Tu nobis lucem, *Lucina*, dedisti.

Lucina, you first brought us into *Light*.

The Greek Name φωσφόρος, sometimes attributed to this Goddess, is of the same Import with the Latin *Lucina*; being deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς φῶς φέρειν, from bringing Light, because 'twas by her Assistance, that Infants were safely deliver'd out of their dark Mansions, to enjoy the Light of this World: In Allusion to this, the Greek and Latin Goddesses were both represented with lighted Torches in their Hands; which Reason seems far more natural than that which some assign, viz. ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἰσχύι πῦρ εἶσιν αἱ ὠδίνες, that the Pain of bearing Children is no less exquisite than of Burning (b).

Who this *Elishyia* is, Authors are not well agree'd; some will have her to be an *Hyperborean*, who came from her own Country to *Delos*; and there assisted *Latona* in her Labour; they add, that this Name was first us'd at *Delos*, and thence deriv'd to other Parts of the World (c). *Olen*, the first Writer of Divine Hymns

(a) *Idyll* 14. (b) *Pausanias Arcadicis*, p. 443. Edit *Hanov.* (c) *Idem Atticis* p. 31.

in Greece, makes her the Mother of *Cupid*; whence it might be infer'd, she was the same with *Venus*, were not *Pausanias*, who cites this Passage of *Olen*, against it, when he brings this as a different Account of *Cupid's* Descent from that receiv'd one of his being *Venus's* Son (a): The same Poet, cited by the same Author (b), will have her to be more ancient than *Saurn*, and the self-same with *Περγαμήν*, which is the Grecian Name for *Fate*: Others make her the same with *Juno*, *Diana*, the *Moon*, &c. What appears most probable, is, That all the *Δεοὶ γενέσθαι*, i. e. those Deities that were thought to have any Concern for Women in Child-bed, were call'd *Elihyia*, and *Lucina*; for these are general Names, and sometimes given to one Deity, sometimes to another.

Juno was one of these Goddesses; whence the Woman thus invokes her,

Juno Lucina, fer open.—————

Juno Lucina, help, assist the Labour.

There are several remarkable Stories concerning *Juno's* Power in this Affair, whereof I shall only mention that about *Alcmena*, who having incur'd this Goddess's Displeasure by being *Jupiter's* Mistress, and being with Child by him, *Sthenelus's* Wife being likewise with Child at the same time, but not so forward as the other; *Juno* first obtain'd that he, who should be first born, should rule over the other, then alter'd the Course of Nature, caus'd *Eurystheus* to be born of *Sthenelus's* Wife, and afterwards *Hercules* of *Alcmena*; whence it was that *Hercules* was always subject to *Eurystheus*, and undertook his famous Labours in Obedience to his Commands.

The Daughters of this Goddess were employ'd in the same Office, and dignify'd with the same Title, as we find in *Homer* (c),

ὣς δ' ὅταν ᾠδίνεσαν ἔχῃ βέλους ὄξυ γυναικα,
 Δειμὺν, τὸ τε περὶ αἰσι μογροσύνην Εἰλείθυαι,
 Ἥρης θυγατέρες, πικρὰς ᾠδίνεας ἔχουσαι.
 ὣς ὄξει ὀδυῦμαι θυμὸν μένος Ἀτρεΐδης.

Such racking Smart *Atrides* felt, such Pain,
 As pregnant Wives in Labour do sustain,
 Which *Juno's* Daughters th' *Elihyia* give,
 As both to Child and Mother a Relief.

(a) *Baoticis* p. 581. (b) *Artadicis* p. 487. (c) *Iliad*. x'. v. 269.

The Moon was another of these Deities, inasmuch that Cicero will have *Luna*, the Moon's Name in *Latin*, to be the same with *Lucina*: Nor was it without Reason, that the Moon was thought one of the Deities, that had the care of Child-bearing, since, as several Philosophers are of opinion, her Influences were very efficacious in carrying on the Work of Generation (a).

Diana, being commonly reputed the same with the Moon, was likewise thought to bear the same Office, as we find in *Horace*, who, having before invoc'd celestial *Diana*, proceeds thus (b),

*Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres,
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
 Seu Genitalis:
Divâ, Producas sobolem; parumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Faminis, prolisque novæ feraci
 Lege marita.*

Propitious *Ilithyia*, thou, whose Care
Presides o'er Child-birth, lend a pitying Ear,
 Prolific Wombs defend and bless,
May they conceive, and in their Issue have Success;
 Let Laws and Statutes of the Wife
Promote, enjoin, encourage Marriage-tyes,
 And may our Senators agree
T' enact good, wholesom Rules for bridal Sympathy:
 Whether we thee *Lucina* name,
 Or whether *Luna*, still the same
W' invoke, we humbly crave thy Influence and Aid
With blooming Joyes to crown the Rites of th' nuptial Bed.

Mr. Abell.

The same Poet in another Place has attributed the same Care to this Goddess, not in her celestial Capacity, and as bearing the same Character with the Moon, but as frequenting these lower Regions, and traversing the Woods (c),

*Montium custos nemorumque Virgo,
Quæ laborantes viro puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque letho,
 Divâ triformis.*

Goddess, to whom belongs each Hill, each Brake,
Where frighted Deer their Covert make,
Triple *Diana*, who dost hear,
And help Child-bearing Women after the third Pray'r.

(a) Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. II. (b) Carmine seculari. (c) Lib. III. Od. XXII.

Hence she is call'd in *Theocritus* *μογοςόκος*, the common Epithet of *Elithyia*,

Ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλεία μογοςόκος Ἀρτεμὶς ὄρεϊ.

Orpheus gives her divers other Titles relating to this Affair (a),

Παστραῖς, δαδ' ἔχε, θεὰ δίκτυωνα, λοχεία,
Ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ, καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμυντὲ,
Λυσίζωνε, &c. ———

The Epithets *φαισφόρος*, *φρέσβιος*, &c. which denote the giving of Life and Light, being likewise attributed to *Proserpina*, make it seem that she was also thought to be concern'd for Women in Labour; which cannot appear strange, if we consider her as the same Goddess with *Diana*, who, being in three different Capacities as conversant in Heaven, Earth and Hell, has three distinct Names; in Heaven she is *Σελῶν*, the *Moon*; upon Earth *Ἀρτεμὶς*, *Diana*; in Hell *Περσεφόνη*, *Proserpina*; whence are those various Epithets, whereby the Poets denote her three-fold Character, as *τρίμορφος*, *triformis*, *tergemia*, with several others.

One End of invoking these Goddesses was, that the Women might be deliver'd without Pain, which was thought an infallible Token of the Divine Favor; whence *Theocritus*, in his *Encomium* of *Ptolemy*, reckons it as an extraordinary Blessing, that his Mother *Berenice* brought him into the World without Pain (b),

——— Σὲ δ', αἰχμητὴ Πτολεμαῖε,
Αἰχμητᾷ Πτολεμαῖω αἰζήηλος Βερενίκα.
Καὶ σε Κόως ἀπ' ἴταλλε, βρέφος νεογιλὸν ἔοντα
Διζαυθὺν παρὰ ματρὸς, ὅτε παρῆταν ἴδες αἶω
Ἐνθα γὰρ Εἰλείθυαν ἐβώσατο λυσίζωνον
Ἀντρίνας θυγάτηρ βεβαρημὴν ὠδίνεσσιν,
Ἡ δὲ οἱ σὺμμένονισα παῖσατο, κατὰ δ' ἄρα πάντων
Νωδυνίαν κατέχευε μελῶν. ———

But *Berenice* hath these Births outdone,
She brought great *Ptolemy* as great a Son;
First *Coos* danc'd thee, thee, Mankind's Delight,
She took thee at thy first Approach to Light;

(a) Hymno in *Dianam*. (b) *Idyll*. 13. v. 56.

For there thy Mother to *Lucina* pray'd
To ease her *Throws*, and found a speedy Aid,
She came, flood by, and gently loo'd her Pain,
Thy very *Birth* was easy as thy Reign.

Mr. Creech.

Nay, so great an Opinion had they of this Favor, that the Gods were believ'd to vouchsafe it to none but the Chast and Virtuous; whence it came to be look'd on as a convincing Proof of a Woman's Honesty: Thus we find in *Plautus* (a), that, when *Amphitryon* expresses his jealous Thoughts concerning *Alcmena*, this Argument is offer'd to allay his Passion,

BR. ———— *Uxorem tuam*
Neque gementem, neque plorantem nostrum quisquam audivimus,
Ita profecto sine dolore peperit. ————

Your Wife is brought to Bed with Ease, since none Hath heard so much as Groan or Sigh come from her.

Another Token of Divine Favor was thought to be conferr'd, when they brought forth Twins; which, happening to *Alcmena*, was urg'd as another Proof of her Innocence (b),

BR. ———— *Ego faciam, tu idem ut aliter prædices,*
Amphitruo, piam & pudicam esse tuam uxorem ut scias;
De ea re signa aique argumenta paucis verbis eloquar:
Omnium primum, Alcmena geminos peperit filios. (dicere,
AM. *Ain'tu geminos?* BR. *Geminos.* AM. *Di me servent!* BR. *Sine me*
Ut scias tibi, tueque uxori Deos esse omnes propitios.

BR. I'll wipe away Aspersions, and declare
By a sure Token, Sir, my Lady's chaste,
You'll not then falsely in the least suspect,
That *she* hath injur'd, or defil'd your Bed:
Sir, she hath brought forth Twins. AM. *Twins say you?* BR. *Yes.*
AM. *Bless me?* BR. I'll this protest to shew that You
And my good Mistress are the Care of Heav'n.

Mr. Abell.

They had likewise other Means to procure an easy Delivery; one of which was to hold in their Hands Palm-branches, Tokens of Joy and Conquest, and us'd as Emblems of Persons rais'd from great Afflictions to Prosperity; it being observ'd of that Tree,

(a) *Amphitryone* Act. V. Sc. I. (b) *Ibidem.*

that the hanging of heavy Weights upon it is a means to cause it to branch out to a greater Height: *Latona*, when brought to Bed of *Apollo*, made use of this Expedient to ease her Pain; whence *Theognis* thus bespeaks that God (a),

— Σὲ δὲ τέκε πότνια Λητώ,
Φοῖνικος ἑσθλῆς χερσὶν ἐπαλαμύνῃ.

When *handling Palm Latona* brought you forth.

Homer likewise mentions *Latona's* travelling near a Palm-tree (b),

Χαῖρε, μάχρ' ὦ Λητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα, καὶ Ἀρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν.
Τίω μὲ ἐν Οὐρυγίῃ, ἣ δ' ἔκραναῖ ἐνὶ Δίλῳ,
Κεκλιμμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὕεος καὶ Κυνώδιον ὄχλον
Ἀλχοτάτω φοῖνικος, ὡς Ἰωνοῖο ἐξέδροις.

What Tides of Bliss do sport about thy Throne
What Joys do in eternal Circles run,
Latona, who hast such a Daughter, such a Son?
Diana, Queen of Woods, she there bears Sway,
Apollo's Reign great Empires do obey:
Her Birth *Orygia* boasts, the God was born
Under a Palm-tree *Delos* to adorn,
Inopus nigh peep'd up with swelling Tide,
And in curl'd Surges smilingly did glide.

Mr. Abell.

It is observable that the ancient *Athenians* us'd none but Men-midwives; it being forbidden by one of their Laws, that Women, or Slaves should have any Concern in the Study, or Practice of Physick: This proving very fatal to many Women, whose Modesty suffer'd them not to entrust themselves in the Hands of Men, one *Agnodice* disguis'd her self in Man's Cloaths and study'd Physick under a certain Professor call'd *Herophilus*; where having attain'd to a competent Skill in that Art, she reveal'd her self to her own Sex, who agree'd with one Consent to employ none beside her: Hereupon the rest of the Physicians, enrag'd at their want of Business, indicted her before the Court of *Areopagus*, as one that corrupted Men's Wives; to obviate this Accusation she discover'd what Sex she was of; upon this the Physicians prosecuted her with greater Eagerness, as violating the Laws, and encroaching upon the Men's Prerogative; when, to prevent her Ruin, the prin-

(a) *Gnom. v. 5.* (b) *Hymn. in Apollin. v. 14.*

principal Matrons of the City came into Court and address'd themselves to the Judges, telling them, "That they were not Husbands, but Enemies, who were going to condemn the Person, to whom they ow'd their Lives": Upon this the Athenians repeal'd the old Law, and permitted free Women to undertake this Employ (a).

No sooner was the Child brought into the World, when they wash'd it in Water; whence *Callimachus*, speaking of *Jupiter's* Nativity, has these Words (b),

Ενθα σ' ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων,
Αὐτίκα δίζητο ῥέον ὕδατος, ὃ κε τέκοιο
Λύματα χυτλώσαστο, τὸν δ' ἐνὶ χροῶτα λοέσσει.

As soon as you was born, and saw the Light,
Your Mother's grateful Burthen and Delight,
She sought for some clear Brook to purify
The Body of so dear a Progeny.

Lycophron also, designing to express the Murder of *Cilla* and her Son *Munius*, which was effected as soon as the Child was born, says they dy'd before the Boy was wash'd, or suck'd (c),

Ἰν' ἄλμα πάππη, καὶ χαμηνιάδος μόρεσι
Τῆς λαδρονύμφος πόρπος μέμψιδόιοι
Σκύμνω κέχυνται, πρὶν λαφύξασθαι γένος,
Πρὶν ἐκ λοχείας γῆα χυτλώσαι δρόσω.

A stol'n Embrace sent *Cilla* to the Fates
With her *Munius*, the young Bastard-brat,
Who both were kill'd nigh unto *Ilus's* Tomb,
Her Grandfather, before the Child had been
Cleans'd from the Issue of the spurious Birth.

The *Lacedemonians* bath'd their new-born Infants, not in Water, as was the Custom in all other Countries (saith *Plutarch* in his Life of *Lycurgus*) but Wine, to prove the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies; for they had a Conceit, that weakly Children would fall into Convulsions, or immediately faint upon their being thus bath'd; on the contrary, those, who were of a strong and vigorous Constitution, would acquire a greater De-

(a) *Hyginus* Fab. CCLXXIV. (b) *Hymno in Jovem*. v. 14. (c) *Cassandra* v. 319. ubi consulendus *Maurusii* Commentarius.

gree of Firmness by it, and get a Temper in Proportion like Steel in the quenching.

The next Action observable is cutting the Child's Navil, which was done by the Nurfes, and call'd *ὀμφαλιτομία* (a), whence arose the proverbial Saying, *ὀμφαλὸς σε ἔσπει τμήθῃ*, i. e. Thy Navil is not cut, which is as much as if we say, You are an Infant, and scarce separated from your Mother. There was a Place in Crete call'd *Omphalium* from *ὀμφαλός*, a Navil, because *Jupiter's* Navil-string was cut there; whence *Callimachus* speaks to him thus (b),

Γυτάμῃ τοι πῖσε, δαῖμον, ἀπ' ὀμφαλός· ἔνθεν ἐκείνο
ὀμφάλιον μετέπειτα πῖδον καλέουσ' Κῦδωνες.

Then the Nurse wrapp'd the Child in Swadling-bands, lest it's Limbs, being then tender and flexible, should happen to be distorted; only the *Spartan* Nurfes were so careful and experienc'd, that, without using Swadling-bands, their Children were all streight and well proportion'd: Their Management of Children differ'd likewise from all the rest of the *Grecians* in several other Instances, for "they us'd them to any sort of Meat, and sometimes to bear the Want of it, not to be afraid in the Dark, or to be alone, nor to be froward, peevish, and crying, as they are generally in other Countries thro' the impertinent Care and Fondness of those, who look to them: Upon this account *Spartan* Nurfes were frequently hir'd by People of other Countries; and it is reported, that she, who suckl'd *Alcibiades*, was a *Spartan* (c)".

To return, new-born Infants were at *Athens* commonly wrapp'd in a Cloth, wherein was represented the *Gorgon's* Head, because that was describ'd in the Shield of *Minerva*, the Protectress of that City; whereby, it may be, Infants were committed to the Goddess's Care; another End of it might be, to put them in mind, when arriv'd at Men's Estate, that they were to imitate such noble and generous Examples as were there represented; or to be an happy Omen of their future Valor; for which reasons it was likewise customary to lay them upon Bucklers; thus *Hercules* and his Brother *Iphiclus* were plac'd by *Alcmena* (d),

Ἡρακλῆα δευράμιων ἔοντα ποχ' ἅ Μιδεῶπις
Ἀλμύα, καὶ νυκτὶ νεώτερον Ἰφικλῆα,
Ἀμφοτέρως λῆσασα, καὶ ἐμπλήτασα γάλακτος,
Χαλκιδεῖαν κατέθηκεν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τὴν Πτεριγιάς
Ἀμφιτῶων καλὸν ὄπλον ἀπασχύλευσε πεισόντος.

(a) Suidas in ista voce. (b) Hymno in *Jovem*. v. 44. (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycargo*. (d) *Theocritus* *Idyll*. xlv. initio.

Alcides ten Months old, a vig'rous Child,
Alcmena fed, and laid him on a Shield,
 (The Shield from *Pterilus Amphiryo* won,
 A great, auspicious Cradle for his Son)
 With younger *Iphiclus* of human Race,
 No Part of him was drawn from *Jove's* Embrace.

Mr. Creech.

The *Lacedemonians* religiously observ'd this Ceremony; whence
Nonnus (a),

——— Λακωνίδες οἷα γυνᾶνες
 Τίτας ὀβίησιν ἐπ' εὐκύνλοιο βοείας.

On a round *Buckler* the *Laconian Dames*
 Lay down their Burthen of Child-birth.——

In other Places they plac'd their Infants in a Thing bearing some
 Resemblance to whatever sort of Life they design'd them for: No-
 thing was more common than to put them in Vans, or Conve-
 niences to winnow Corn, in Greek *λίχνα*, which were design'd as
 Omens of their future Riches and Affluence (b): This was not
 always a real Van, but commonly an Instrument bearing the Fi-
 gure of it, but compos'd of Gold, or other Materials; for thus,
Callimachus tells us, *Nemesis* plac'd young *Jupiter* in a golden Van (c),

——— Σὲ δ' κοίμισεν Ἀδριστεία
 Λίχνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ.———

In a gold Van *Nemesis* laid you to sleep.

One Thing more is to be observ'd concerning the *Athenians* be-
 fore we dismiss this Head, viz That it was a common Practice
 among them, especially in Families of Quality, to place their In-
 fants on Dragons of Gold; which Custom was instituted by *Mi-
 nerva* in Memory of *Eriëthionius*, one of their Kings, who had Feet
 like those of Serpents, and, being expos'd to the wide World when
 an Infant, was committed by that Goddess to the Custody of
 two vigilant Dragons: *Euripides* has largely accounted for this Ce-
 remony, when he speaks of *Crœusa's* Son, whom she bore to *Apollo* (d),

——— Ως δ' ἦλθε χρόνος,
 Τεκῶσ' ἐν οἴκοις παῖδ', ἀπὸ βρύκε βρέζῃ

(a) *Dionysiacus* lib. XLI. (b) *Etymologici* Αὐτορ, *Callimachi Scholiastes* in ver-
 sum sequentem. (c) *Hymno* in *Jovein*. (d) *Ion*. v. 15.

Εἰς ταυτὸν ἄνταρον, ἔσθ' ἡνιάδην θεῶ,
 Κρέεσσα· κακτίθησιν ὡς θανάμνον
 Κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐπρόχῳ κύκλῳ,
 Περγόνων νόμον σώζεσσα, τῷ τε γηγυῖς
 Εὐεχθονίῳ· κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη
 Φρυγῶν ὦραζ' ἄλγιστα φύλακας σώματος,
 Διὰ δὲ δράκοντες, παρθένοισι Αἰγλαυεῖσι
 Δίδωσι· σώζειν· ὅθεν Εὐεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ
 Νόμῳ· τίς ἔστιν ὄφεστιν ἐν χυσιλάτοις
 Τρέφειν τέκνα. —————

The Time, she reckon'd, being out, a Boy
 She was deliver'd of, the which sh' expos'd
 In the same close, convenient Recess,
 Where the brisk God her Maiden-fruits had cropt;
 In a round Box here she the Infant left
 To perish; as the ancient Custom was,
 Experienc'd by old *Erichthonius*:
 Since him *Minerva* to *Aglauros* gave,
 That she might with her Sisters bring him up,
 Two Dragons being Guards; the Custom hence
 Is by *Eretheus's* Daughters thus observ'd
 To nurse up carefully and Children tend
 Entwin'd within the Folds of golden Serpents.

Mr. *Abell*.

The Poet has likewise given us the same Account of this Custom towards the later End of this Tragedy (a).

On the fifth Day after the Birth the Midwives, having first purify'd themselves by washing their Hands, ran round the Fire-hearth with the Infant in their Arms; thereby, as it were, entering it into the Family, and putting it under the Protection of the Household Gods, to whom the Hearth serv'd instead of an Altar; hence the Day was call'd *Δεσμιάριον ἡμῶν*, or (which was the more usual Name) *Αμψιδρόμια*: It was celebrated as a Festival with a great many Expressions of Joy; they receiv'd Gifts from their Friends; if the Child was a Male, their Doors were deck'd with an Olive-garland; if a Female, with Wooll, in token of the Work Women were to be employ'd about: The Cheer consisted of divers sorts of Things, among which *χράμβη*, Colewort, always was one, which the *Athenian* Midwives us'd to administer to Women in Child-bed as conducing to create Milk: The whole Ceremony is describ'd

(a) V. 1417.

in the following Verses of *Ephippus* cited by *Athenæus* (a), most of which, some Varieties in the Reading excepted, the same Author cites in another Place out of *Enbulus* (b),

Επειτα πῶς
Οὐ σέφανος ἔδ' εἰς ὄρε' ἀπείθε' ἤ θυρῶν,
Οὐ κνίσσα κρέει ξινὸς ὑπεροχῆς ἀκρας
Ἀμφιδρομίων ὄντων, ἐν οἷς νομίζεται
Ὀπίθην τε τύρε Χερσονήσου τόμους,
Ἐφειν τ' ἐλαίης ῥάφανον ἡλαϊσμένον,
Πνίγειν τε παχέων ἀρνείων σιθύνια,
Τίλλειν τε φάφας καὶ κίχλας ὁμῶς ἀνίοις,
Κοινῇ τε χναίνειν τευδίσι σπηκίδια,
Πιλεῖν τε πολλὰς πλεκτάνας ὀπισθόρας,
Πίνειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας εὐζωρεσέρας;

But what's the Reason that no Crown is plac'd
Before the Doors, nor grateful Victim slain,
Whose frying Fat delights the smelling Sense;
When th' joyful *Amphidromia* are kept;
In which is tosted *Chersonesian* Cheese,
And Colewort ty'd in Bundles seeth'd in Oyl,
And Linnets, Doves, Thrushes, and Cuttle-fish,
And Calamary dress'd, and eat in common,
And Polybus's Claws with Care procur'd
To drink 'em down amidst their less-mix'd Cups. (b)

The seventh Day was likewise honour'd with Festival Solemnities, that being the Time the Child was nam'd: To celebrate this Day was call'd ἐβδομήροισι.

Others nam'd their Children upon the tenth Day after their Birth, on which also they invited their Friends to an Entertainment, and offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods; *Aristophanes* mentions this Custom,

Τίς σε μήτηρ ἐν δεκάτῃ τέκον ὠνόμασεν;

What Mother on the tenth Day nam'd you?

Again,

Οὐκ ἔ' δεκάτῃ τάλ' τις ἐγὼ,
Καὶ τ' ἄνομ' ὥσπερ παιδίον γυνὴ δὲ δέμῳ.

(a) Lib. IX. cap. II. p. 370. Edit. Casaub.

(b) Lib. II. cap. XXIV. p. 65.

On the tenth Day I offer'd Sacrifice,
And, as a Child's, her Name impos'd.

Some will have the Tenth to be the same with *Αμειδύρμια*, but (however some Persons might joyn the two Solemnities) they were commonly distinct: To celebrate this Day was call'd *δεκάτῳ θύειν*, *δεκάτῳ σπαρύνειν*, *δεκάτῳ ἐξιάσαι* (a).

It may be observ'd, that, when the Child receiv'd its Name, whether upon the tenth, or any other Day, a considerable Number of Friends were present: This Custom was not only observ'd by the *Grecians*, but at *Rome*, and most other Parts of the World; the chief End whereof seems to have been to prevent Controversies, that might afterwards arise, when the Child came into Business, and was under several civil Relations, if his Name were not certainly known.

The Child's Father usually impos'd the Name, in which there was no constant Rule observ'd; yet it was common to choose some of their most eminent Ancestors, whose Name they desir'd should be continu'd to Posterity, as an Honour to themselves and their Family, and a perpetual Remembrancer to stir up their Children to the Imitation of great Examples: Thus we find the Names of *Pyrrhus*, *Philip*, *Ptolemy*, &c. preserv'd in several of their Successors; *Ulpian* speaks of *Proxenus* descended from one *Harmodius*, and the Father of another (b); *Plutarch* says, *Thucydides* was the Son of *Olorus*, who deriv'd his Name from one of his Ancestors (c); *Aristophanes* makes *Callias* both the Father and Son of *Hipponichus* (d),

Ἰππώνικος Καλλίας, καὶ Ἰππονίχῳ Καλλίας.

Lastly (to trouble you with no more Instances) we are assur'd by *Eusebius*, that this was a Custom of very great Antiquity (e): The same seems to have been frequent in most other Nations; few of the *Roman* Families but what afford continual Instances of this nature, *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* bore his Grandfather's Name, and we find *Zachary's* Friends in *St. Luke's* Gospel strangely surpriz'd, when his Son the *Baptist* was call'd *John*, because none of his Relations were known by that Name.

The Actions of Parents were frequently declar'd by the Names of their Children, as *Eusebius* observes (f): So *Cleopatra*, or ra-

(a) De his diebus videndi Pollux lib. I. cap. I. *Aristoteles* Hist. Animal. lib. VII. cap. XII. *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, *Etymologici* Auctor, *Phavorinus* in Vv. (b) Schol. in *Demosthenis* Orat. de male obita legatione. (c) *Imane*. (d) *Avibus*. (e) *Iliad*. i. p. 441. Edit. Basil. (f) *Iliad*. i. p. 513.

ther *Marpissa* (for *Eustathius* and the old *Scholias*t are of different Opinions herein) was call'd *Halcyone*, because, when she was ravish'd by *Apollo*, her Mother was no less afflicted than the *Halcyon* is wont to be for the Loss of her Young (a);

Τὼ δ' ὅτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 Αλκυόνῳ καλέεσκον ἐπώνυμον, ἕνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῆς
 Μήτηρ, Αλκυόνος πολυπενδύος οἶτον ἔχουσα,
 Κλαῖ', ὅτε μιν ἐκείργος ἀνὴρ πασέ φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

Halcyone the Maid her Parents call'd,
 'Cause *Halcyon* like her Mother much bewail'd
 Her wretched Fate, when by *Apollo* ravish'd.

Heſtor's Son *Scamandrius* was nam'd by the *Trojans* *Aſtynax*, because his Father was ἄσπετος ἄναξ, the Defender of the City *Troy*; for the original Signification of ἄναξ is no more than a Saviour, or Defender, whence the Gods are commonly call'd ἄνακτες: The Story is in *Homer* (b),

——— Ἀμα δ' ἁμφίπολ' ἦεν αὐτῇ
 Παῖδ' ὅπ'ι κόλπον ἔχουσ' ἀταλάρχενα, νήπιον αὐτῶς,
 Εκτροίδῳ ἀραπτήν, δλίγκιον ἄσπεε καλῶ,
 Τόν γ' Ἐκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
 Ἀστυάνακτ', οἷος γὰρ ἑρέετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ.

The royal Babe upon her Breast was laid;
 Who like the Morning Star his Beams display'd;
Scamandrius was his Name, which *Heſtor* gave
 From that fair Flood, which *Iliſs's* Wall did lave;
 But him *Aſtynax* the *Trojans* call,
 From his great Father, who defends the Wall.

Mr. Dryden.

Ulyſſes was call'd *Οδυσσεύς*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀδύσσειν ἢ αὐτέλειον, from the Anger of his Grandfather *Antolycus*, as *Homer* reports, when he introduces *Antolycus* thus speaking to *Ulyſſes's* Parents (c),

Γαμβρὲς ἐμὸς, θυράτης τε, τίθειδ' ὄνομ' ὅπ'ι καὶ εἶπα
 Πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὀδυσαμένης τόδ' ἰγάνω

(a) *Iliad*. i. 557. (b) *Iliad*. x. 399. (c) *Odysſ.* τ. v. 406.

Ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ γυναιξὶν εἰνὰ χθόνα παλῶτεραι,
 Τῷ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔνομα' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον.

Son, 'tis my Pleasure that my Grandchild be,
 (And, Daughter, you observe too what I say)
Ulysses call'd, 'tis that I'd have his Name,
 Because when much *emag'd* I hither came.

Men's own Actions, Complexions, or Condition frequently gave occasion to their Names: Thus *Oedipus* was nam'd *Ἀλφὸ τὸ οἰδεῖν τὰς πόδας*; whence *Seneca* introduces an old Man thus speaking to him (a),

*Forata ferro gesserat vestigia,
 Tumore nactus nomen ac vitio pedum.*

Your Feet were bor'd with Iron, from which Sore
 And swelling Tumor you receiv'd your Name.

Achilles's Son was first call'd *Πυρρὸς*, from his ruddy Complexion, or the Colour of his Hair; afterwards *Νεοπτόλεμος*, from undertaking the Management of the *Trojan War* when very young: To mention other Instances is needless; wherefore I shall conclude this Head with *Plinarch's* Words, wherein we have an Account of the *Roman*, as well as *Grecian* Method in imposing Names (b): "Hence (i. e. from the taking of *Corioli* the chief City of the *Volsicians*) "*Caius Marcius* had his third Name of *Coriolanus*: Whence it is "manifest, that *Caius* was a personal proper Name; that the second, or Surname of *Marcius*, was a Name in common to his "Family; and that the third *Roman* Appellative was a peculiar Note "of Distinction drawn afterwards and impos'd for some particular Action, Fortune, Shape, Feature, or Virtue of him that bore "it: For thus also the *Grecians* in old Time were wont to fix an "additional Character on their great Men for any famous Achievement, such as *Σωτήρ*, i. e. Saviour; and *Καλλίνικος*, Renown'd "for Victory; or to express something remarkable in their Shape, "or Features, as *Φύσκων*, Gorge-belly; and *Γρυπὸς*, Eagle-nos'd; "as likewise upon account of their Virtue and Kindness, as *Εὐεργέτης*, "a Benefactor; and *Φιλάδελφος*, a Lover of his Brethren; or from "their unusual Felicity and good Fortune, as *Εὐδαιμόμων*, Happy, a "Name given to the second Prince of *Battus's* Family: Several

(a) *Oedip.* v. 812. (b) *Marcio Coriolano.*

"Kings had Names appropriated to them in Reproach and Mockery, as *Antigonus* that of *Δώσω*, i. e. one liberal only in the future, since he was always promising, but never came to Performance; and *Ptolemy*, who was styl'd *Λάμωγος*, for the fond Opinion he had of his own Wit and Pleasantry: This later kind of Denomination by way of Raillery the Romans did very much delight in; for one of the *Metelli* was surnam'd by them *Διαδήματος*, because he had for a long time together walk'd about with his Head bound up by reason of an Ulcer in his Fore-head: There are some, who even at this Day derive Names from certain casual Incidents at their Nativity; One, for instance, who happens to be born when his Father is abroad in a foreign Country, they term *Proculus*; another born after his Father's Decease they style *Posthumus*; and when Twins come into the World, whereof one dies at the Birth, the Survivor is call'd *Vopiscus*: Nay they use to denominate not only their *Syllas* and *Nigers*, i. e. Men of a pimpled Visage, or swarthy Complexion, but their *Cæci* and *Claudii*, i. e. the Blind and Lame, from such corporal Blemishes and Defects; thus wisely accustoming their People not to reckon the Loss of Sight, or any other bodily Misfortune, as a Matter of Ignominy and Disgrace, but that they should answer to such Names without Shame, or Confusion, no other-wise than to the most familiar Compellations".

Sometimes they took a more compendious Way of disposing of their Children, either killing them outright, or exposing them in some desert Place, or elsewhere, to the Mercy of Fortune, or Providence: The later of these they term'd *ἐπιτίθεται*, or *ἀποτίθεται*, nor was it accounted a criminal, or blame-worthy Action, but permitted by some Law-givers, and expressly encourag'd and commanded by others: The *Lacedemonians* are remarkable for their Behaviour in this Matter, for they allow'd not Fathers to nourish their Children when dispos'd to do it, but oblig'd them to carry all their new-born Infants to certain *Tryers*, who were some of the gravest Men in their own Tribe, and kept their Court at a Place call'd *λέγη*, where they carefully view'd such as were brought to them; if they found them lusty and well-favour'd, they gave order for their Education, and allotted a certain Proportion of Land for their Maintenance; but if weakly, or deform'd, they order'd them to be cast into a deep Cavern in the Earth near the Mountain *Tægetus*, as thinking it neither for the Good of the Children themselves, nor for the publick Interest, that they should be brought up, since Nature had both deny'd them the Means of Happiness in their own Particular, and of being serviceable to the Publick, by not enduing them with a sufficient Measure of Health and Strength: On this account it was, that new-born Infants were bath'd in

Wine (a), as has been already observ'd. The Place, into which the Lacedemonians cast their Infants was call'd *Αποθήτται*, whence *Ἀποτίθεται* is usually taken for exposing with a Design to destroy, whereas *ἐκτίθεται* commonly bears a milder Sence, for many Persons expos'd their Children, when they were not willing they should perish, only because they were unable to maintain them; Daughters especially were thus treated, at requiring more Charges to educate and settle them in the World than Sons; whence the Saying cited out of *Posidippus*,

Τὶδὲν τρέφει τις καὶν πένυς τις ὦν τύχη,
Θυγατέρα δ' ἐκτίθῃσι καὶν ἢ πλέσιος.

A Man tho' poor will not expose his Son,
But if he's rich will scarce preserve his Daughter.

The *Thebans* dislik'd this barbarous Custom, having a Law, whereby the Practice of it was made capital; such as were not of ability to provide for their Children, were order'd to carry them as soon as born to the Magistrates, who were oblig'd to take care for their Maintenance, and when they were grown up, us'd them as Slaves, taking their Service as a Recompence for the Charges and Trouble they had been put to (b).

Children were usually expos'd in their Swadling-cloaths, and laid in a Vessel; thus *Ion* was expos'd by *Crœusa* (c),

————— *Απὸνευχε βρέφος*
Εἰς ταυτὸν ἄντρον, ὕπερ νυνάδῃ θεῶν,
Κρέσται, κἀκτίθουσιν ὡς θανέμενον
Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτερόχῳ κύκλῳ.

The Infant first she in a Vessel put,
Then in that Den, where with the God before
Her self had laid, she it expos'd to die.

Aristophanes calls it *ὄσρακον*, speaking of *Oedipus* (d),

————— *Αὐτὸν γινόμενον*
Ἐξέθισαν ἐν ὄσρακῳ. ———

'Tis sometimes term'd *χῦτρα*, whence *χυτεῖν* is the same with *ἐκτίθεται*, and *χυττωδὲς* with *ἐκθισις* (e).

(a) *Plutarchus Lycurgo.* (b) *Alian. Var. Hist. lib. II. cap. VII.* (c) *Euripides Ione v. 16.* (d) *Ran.* (e) *Hesychius.*

The Parents frequently ty'd Jewels and Rings to the Children they expos'd, or any other Thing whereby they might afterwards discover them, if Providence took care for their Safety : Another Design in thus adorning these Infants was, either to encourage such as found them, to nourish and educate them, if alive ; or to give them human Burial, if dead ; the last of these Reasons seems assign'd by *Euripides* speaking of *Crœusa* (a),

————— Ἦν εἶχε παρθένος χλιδῶν
Τέκνω πρὸς αἶσος ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανερύω.

Her costly Robe she o'er the Infant cast,
And left it to expire.—————

Terence introduces *Sostrata* assigning another Reason for this Practice, when she relates how she had caus'd her Daughter to be expos'd to save her from her Husband *Chremes*, who had straitly charg'd to put her to Death (b),

————— *Ut stultæ & miseræ omnes sumus*
Religiosæ, cum exponendam do illi, de digito anulum
Detraho, & eum dico ut una cum puella exponeret,
Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

We all are tender, superstitious Fools,
So when I first deliver'd up my Child
To be expos'd, I strait pull'd off my Ring,
And bad the Man to leave it with the Girl,
So had she there deceas'd, she still had kept
Some Pledge that would denote my former Love.

Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to add something concerning the Purification of Women coming out of Childbed, for during their lying there they were look'd on as polluted ; whence the *Athenians* enacted a Law that no Woman should bring forth in *Delos*, an Island consecrated to *Apollo*, because the Gods were believ'd to have an Aversion to all sorts of Pollution : *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* tells us, that no Person, who was guilty of Murder, or had touch'd a Woman in Child-bed, or a dead Corpse could be admitted to *Diana's* Altar (c),

————— Βροτῶν μὲν ὡς τις ἀψιπτα φόνος,
Ἡ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῶ δέτην χεῖρσιν,
Βαρύς ἀπείργει, μυστράων ὡς ἡγευμένη.

(a) Loc. cit. v. 26. (b) *Heauton. Act IV. Sc. I.* (c) *Iphigen, Taur. v. 280.*

They, who by these Pollutions are defil'd
By Murder, Child-bed, or but touch'd the Dead,
Let them as Things unhallow'd, be deny'd
T' approach *Diana's* Altar.——

When the *fortyeth* Day came, the Danger of Child-birth being then over, they kept a Festival, call'd from the Number of the Day *τεσσαρακοστής*: At this Time the Woman, having been before purify'd by Washing, enter'd into some of the Temples, most commonly *Diana's*, which from her Labour 'till that Time she was not allow'd to do (a); Here she return'd Thanks for her safe Delivery, and offer'd Sacrifices; it was likewise the Custom to present her *Garments* to *Diana*, who acquir'd hence the Sirname of *Χιτών* (b); and Women after their first Child did farther offer their *Zone* to the same Goddess, on that Account call'd *Λυσίζων*, and had a Temple at *Athens* dedicated to her under that Title (c).

CHAPTER XV.

Of their different sorts of Children, Wills, Inheritances, the Duties of Children to their Parents &c.

THE *Scholiast* on *Homer* makes four different sorts of Children: 1. Οἱ γνήσιοι, or ἰθαγενεῖς, Children born in lawful Marriage. 2. Οἱ νόθοι, those born of Concubines, or Harlots. 3. Οἱ οὐκῆτοι, whose Fathers were not known, wherein they were distinguish'd from the former. 4. Οἱ παρθένας, such as were born of Women, who, tho' vitiated before Marriage, were still taken for Virgins. This and other Divisions of Children I shall pass by, only taking notice of three sorts:

1. Γνήσιοι, lawfully begotten.

2. Νόθοι, born of Harlots, which Word in a large Sence may comprehend the three later sorts of Children before-mention'd.

3. Ουκῆτοι, adopted.

It will be necessary to add something more concerning every one of these. First, those were reputed lawfully begotten, who were begotten in lawful Marriage, which was measur'd by

(a) *Censorinus* de Natal. cap. XI. (b) *Callimachi Scholiasten* Hymn. I. (c) *Apollonis Scholiaster*.

different Rules, as the Affairs of every State requir'd: In some Places, whoever had a Citizen for his Father, tho' his Mother was a Foreigner; in others, those also, who were born of free Women, when their Fathers were Foreigners, pass'd for Legitimate, and inherited the Freedom of the City they were born in, and all Privileges consequent thereto: Most Commonwealths by War, Plagues, or other Ways, seem to have taken this Course to replenish and strengthen their Country with People; but, when that Exigence ceas'd, and it became necessary to restrain the too great Encrease of free Citizens, they commonly enacted, that none should be esteem'd legitimate, but such as were descended from Parents both Citizens (a); which Order was dispenc'd with, or abrogated as oft as fresh Occasions requir'd: This may be observ'd at Athens in Pericles's Time, for when Pericles was in a flourishing Condition, and had Sons lawfully begotten, he propos'd, that Solon's old Law should be reviv'd, whereby 'twas order'd that they only should be reputed true Citizens of Athens, whose Parents were both Athenians; hereupon almost five thousand lost their Freedom, and were sold for Slaves; but Pericles himself afterwards, having lost all his legitimate Sons, so far prevail'd with the Athenians, that they cancell'd the Law, and yielded that he might enroll his natural Son in the Register of his own Ward by his paternal Name; which was a Thing the *vidui*, natural Children, were incapable of, as having nothing to do with the Name, Family (b), or Estate of their Father; as neither were they allow'd to intermeddle in sacred, or civil Affairs. For fear any Person should insinuate such Children into the City-register, wherein all the Citizen's Names were kept, they made severe Scrutinies in every Burrough, which were term'd *dia-jurizontes* (c), whereby all Persons not duly qualify'd were ejected the City; there was likewise a Court of Justice in the *Cynosarges*, a Place in the Suburbs of Athens, where Examination was made concerning such Persons. Nor were such as had only one Parent an Athenian, tho' allow'd the Freedom of Athens, reputed equal to such as were Athenians of the whole Blood; for, we find in *Plutarch* (d), that when these perform'd their Exercises at the Schools within the City, those of the half Blood, with the Foreigners, were only allow'd to exercise at *Cynosarges*, where was a *Gymnasium* dedicated to *Hercules*, who himself was illegitimate, as not being descended from two immortal Gods, but having a mortal Woman for his Mother; *Themistocles*, my Author tells us, offended at this Reproach, perswaded divers of the young Noblemen to ac-

(a) *Aristoteles Politic. lib. III. cap. V.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Avibus.*
(c) *Harpocration.* (d) *Themistocle.*

company him to anoint and exercise themselves at *Cynosarges*, whereby he seem'd (saith he) with some Ingenuity to take away the Distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger, and between those of the whole and those of the half Blood of *Athens*.

There was never any Time that I know of (whatever some may pretend to the contrary) when Illegitimacy was not reputed a Disgrace; unless in those Ages, wherein Men liv'd without Laws and Government, allowing promiscuous Mixtures, and all other sorts of Uncleanneſs. *Eustathius* will have Concubines and their Sons to have been as honourable as Wives and Sons begotten in lawful Marriage about the Time of the *Trojan War* (a); but the whole Course of Antiquity seems to be clearly against him, for I do not find a single Instance in any ancient Author, which can countenance so unreasonable an Opinion: 'Tis possible indeed, that Concubines might sometimes have greater Respect than lawful Wives, Bastards than legitimate Children; but that was owing to the partial Affection of Husbands, which Women by their superior Beauty and Arts of Insinuation might gain, but can by no means be attributed to the Practice of those Times: The chief reason *Eustathius* alleges, is, that *Agamemnon* calls *Tenecer* νόδος, when encouraging him to fight, at which Time it would have been very improper to have given him opprobrious Language: The Hero's Words run thus (b),

Ταῦρε, φίλη κεφαλὴ, Τελαμώνι, κοίρανε λαῶν,
Βάλλ' ἔπως, αἶ κεν π φῶς Δαναοῖσι γένῃαι
Πατέι τε σὺ Τελαμώνι, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε πυτδὸν ἔοντα,
Καί σε νόδον περ ἔοντα κομίσατο ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

Tenecer, you much-lov'd *Grecian* Chief, advance
If you'd your Sire's, or Country's Fame enhance;
Without Delay let some Exploit be done
Worthy your Country, worthy *Telamon*,
Who in your Nonage shew'd his gen'rous Care,
For, tho' of spurious Birth, he held you dear,
At his own Table brought you up.—

Mr. *Hutchin*.

In which Words *Agamemnon* excites *Tenecer*, the natural Son of *Telamon*, to behave himself with Courage by two Reasons; First, That so doing he would be instrumental in delivering the *Grecians* from their Enemies, who daily got Ground of them: The other, That such an Action would be a Credit to his Father, whose Honour he ought to have a more tender Concern for, since he had re-

(a) *Iliad*. 8. p. 599. Edit. *Basil*. (b) *Iliad*. 8. v. 281.

ceiv'd such extraordinary Benefits from him; as having, notwithstanding his Illegitimacy, been carefully educated, and that not in any remote Place, where he might have been neglected, but under *Telamon's* own Eye, and in his own House: This is so far from establishing an Equality between legitimate Children and Bastards, that it evidently shews the contrary, the Particle *τις* after *υδ'ορ* plainly implying that such Care of Bastards was something more than common in those Days: Nor can the Poet be blam'd for making *Agamemnon* call him by such a Name, since the Thing was no secret, but known to all the *Grecians*, and which (no doubt) appear'd every Day from *Teucer's* submissive Behaviour to *Ajax*, his half Brother and lawful Son of *Telamon*: As a Confirmation of what I have said, I shall add the Words of *Agamemnon* in *Sophocles* spoken likewise to *Teucer*, whence it will appear what Difference there was between the Sons of lawful Wives and those of Concubines; and in particular concerning *Teucer*, how great a Disgrace it was to him to be the Son of a Captive, and Concubine, tho' his Mother was of the Race of Kings (a),

Σὲ δὴ τὰ δεινὰ ῥήματ' ἀγγέλλω μοι
Τελῶναι καὶ ἡμῶν ὧδ' ἀνοικητὴν χαλκῖν,
Σὲ τοι γ' ἐκ γ' αἰχμαλώτου λέγω
Ἡ περὶ τρεῖς ἀν' ἡμετέρας εὐχόμενος ἀπο
Τυχεῖν ἐκώμποις, καὶ π' ἀκρῶν ὠδύεσθαι
Ὅτ' ἔδεν ὦν, γ' μὴδὲν ἀντίστης ὕμῳ,
Καὶ τε σπᾶθης, ἔτε ναυαρχὸς μολεῖν
Ἡμᾶς Ἀχαιῶν, ἔτε σε διωμόσω;
Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄρχων, ὥς σὺ φῆς, Αἴας ἔπει
Ταῦτ' ἔκ' ἀκύνει μεγάλα πρὸς δέλων κακὰ;

I am inform'd that with opprobrious Speech
You, Vassal, you born of a Slave of War,
Have dar'd bespatter *Agamemnon's* Fame,
And yet thy heinous Crime is unreveng'd:
How hadst thou swell'd, if come of nobler Birth,
Who arrogantly now defends the Cause
Of one that is no more, a life-less Corpse;
Dares to deny our dread Authority.
Whilst *Ajax* truly must be own'd a Chief,
Gods! do such Words become a servile Mouth?

Mr. Hutchin.

(a) *Ajace* v. 1250.

Some will have only the natural Children of Kings and Persons of Quality to have been equal to those, who were lawfully begotten: It may be true, that such Children were above the legitimate ones of private Persons; but, that they were of the same Dignity with the legitimate Issue of Princes, do's not appear; nay, the contrary is manifest from the fore-mention'd Example of *Ten- cer*, both whose Parents were Princes: The same might be prov'd by other Instances, whereof I shall only mention one: 'Tis that of *Ion*, who had *Apollo* for his Father, and *Crensa*, the Wife of an *Athenian* King, for his Mother, and yet is introduc'd by *Eu- ripides* complaining of his hard Fortune in being illegitimate (a),

Εἶναι φασὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς
 Κλεινὰς Ἀθηνῶν, ἧς ἐπαίσχλητον γένος,
 ἔν' εἰσὼν ἴκαμ' ἰδὼν ὅσα κεκτημένος.
 Πατέρι τ' ἐκτὸς, καὶ τὸς ὦν νόθα γένος;
 Καὶ γὰρ ἔχον τέκετος, ἀδελφὴς δ' ὦν,
 Μῦθεν ἢ ἔθεν ἐνθάδ' ὦν κεκλησόμεαι.

'Tis rumor'd that the famous *Athen's* Sons
 Were there produc'd, and there have ever liv'd;
 Then where shall wretched I intrude my self,
 Who am on two Accounts most desperate,
 A Bastard-son and of a Stranger too;
 And to complete my most opprobrious Fate,
 Am most infirm, on these Accounts shall I
 Be there despis'd, and made a publick Scorn.

Mr. Huchin.

It may indeed be objected, that (as *Servius* observes) natural Children sometimes succeeded in their Father's Kingdoms; but that only happen'd (as the same Author tells us) for want of legitimate Issue; nor was it always allow'd in such Cases: In some Places the Bastards of private Persons likewise inherited the Estates of their Fathers having no lawful Children or Relations, as appears from an *Athenian* Law cited by *Demosthenes* (b): But where there were Relations, Bastards had no Share, as is plain from a Dialogue between *Pisitherus* and *Hercules* in *Aristophanes*; where *Hercules*, having been perswaded by *Neptune* that he was Heir apparent to *Jupiter*, is undeceiv'd by *Pisitherus*, who tells him, that, being illegitimate, he had no Right of Inheritance, and to confirm what he said repeats *Solon's* Law concerning this Affair; the Passage is long, but, being pertinent to this Place, and containing a true Account of the *Athenian* Practice, must not be omitted (c),

(a) *Ione* v. 589. (b) *Orat. in Macariatum*. (c) *Avibus* haud longe à fine.

ΠΕ. Οἱμοι τάλας γ', οἷόν σε πελοποιρίζεται ;
 Δεῦρ' ὡς ἐμ' ἀποχάρησον, ἵνα τί τοι φράσω·
 Διαβάλλεται σ' ὁ Δεῖσιος, ὃ πόνηρε σύ,
 Τῶν γδ πατρῶων ἐδ' ἀκαρεῖ μέτεσί σοι
 Κατὰ τὰς νόμους· νόθος γδ εἶ, καὶ γνήσιος.

HP. Εγὼ νόθος ; τί λέγεις ; ΠΕ. Σὺ μὲν τοι νῆ Δία,
 ὅν γε ξένης γυναικὸς ἢ πῶς ἂν ποτε
 Ἐπικληθὼν εἶναι τ' Ἀθῶναίαν δοκῆς,
 Οὔσαις θυγατὲρ, ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γνησίων ;

HP. Τί δ' ἢ ὃ πατὴρ ἐμοὶ δίδω· τὰ χεῖματά
 Τὰ νοθεὶ ἀποδύναται ; ΠΕ. Ο νόμος αὐτὸν ἐκ ἐγώ,
 Οὗτος ὁ Πρῶσιδαν παῖς, ὃ ἐπαίρει σε νῦν,
 Ἀνδέξεταί σε τ' πατρῶων χρημάτων,
 Φάσκων ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς εἶναι γνήσιος·
 Ερῶ δὲ δὴ καὶ τ' Σόλωνός σοι νόμον,
 “ Νόθος δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἀρχ-
 “ -τείαν, παίδων ὄντων γνη-
 “ -σίων· ἐὰν δ' παῖδες
 “ Μὴ ὦσι γνήσιοι, τοῖς
 “ Εἰςυτάτω τ' γένος
 “ Μετεῖναι τ' χρημάτων.

PL. Alas! how strangely he comes over you?
 But hark you in your Ear; thus much I'll say,
 Your Uncle, tho' you know it not, wou'd trick you;
 And, truly if the Tenour of the Laws
 Were now consulted, you'd not have an Ace
 Of that Estate your Father leaves behind;
 For you're a Bastard; not Legitimate!

HER. How's this you say? am I a Bastard then?

PL. You of a Stranger by a stol'n Embrace
 Begot you; but why do you suspect it;
 Since if but any of his Sons, were born
 Of lawful Birth, Pallas were not an Heiress.

HER. What if he leave all to his Bastard-son?

PL. The Law won't suffer that; but Neptune first,
 Who now so much extols you, all will seize,
 Being his lawful Brother; but the Law
 Which Solon made I'll willingly recite:

“ Bastards shall not be numbred in the Roll

“ Of Kindred, whilst the lawful Children live,

“ And for defect of such, the next a Kin

“ Shall then enjoy the Goods of the Deceas'd. (Mr. Fuchin.)

Where

Where, tho' *Pisthetærus* tells *Hercules*, that the Law would not permit him to have *ῥοδέειν χερματά*, yet that must be interpreted of an equal Portion of the Inheritance, which he could not have whilst his Father had Relations, who were Heirs by Law; for even Bastards were allow'd some Share in their Father's Estate: *Abraham* is said to have given Portions to the Sons of his Concubines, reserving the Inheritance for his legitimate Son *Isaac* (a); and the *Athenian* Law-giver allow'd them a thousand *Drachms*, or five *Attick* Pounds, which were term'd *ῥοδέια*, a Bastard's Portion (b): This was vary'd in different Times and Places; we are told that sometimes, even in Common-wealths, where a settled Platform of Laws was establish'd, the Fortune of Bastards depended on their Father's Pleasure, who had Liberty to take them into their own Family, and make them equal Sharers with their legitimate Children, the Privilege of dividing the Estate only reserv'd to the latter; an Example whereof we have in two Sons, one of which being begotten in lawful Marriage, the other of a Slave, the Division of their common Inheritance belong'd to the former, who plac'd on one side the whole Estate, on the other his Half-brother's Mother, so reducing him to a Necessity of letting his Mother continue in Slavery, or depriving himself of his whole Portion (c).

Those, who had no legitimate Sons, were oblig'd by the *Athenian* Laws to leave their Estates to their Daughters, who were confin'd to marry their nearest Relations, otherwise to forfeit their Inheritance, as we find to have been practis'd likewise by the *Jews*, many of whose Laws seem to have been transcrib'd by *Solon*: These Virgins, whether sole Heiresses, or only Coheiresses, were call'd by *Solon* himself *παρθένης*, by others *παρθένος*, or (which is the most common Name of all) *ἐπιχθέρη*, and sometimes, as *Enstathius* reports (d), *μάνδρα*; These and their nearest Relations were empower'd to claim Marriage from one another, which if either Party refus'd, the other prefer'd an Action against him, which was term'd *ἐνδίκη*, which Word was apply'd to all sorts of Law-suits; whence Inheritances, about which they went to Law, were term'd *κληρονομία ἐνδίκη*; those, which they had a quiet Possession of, *ἀνεκδίκη*: Others report, that, whether there was any Dispute or not, the nearest Relation was oblig'd to claim his Wife with her Inheritance in the *Archon's* Court, if he were a Citizen; in the *Polemarchus's*, if only a Sojourner, and that this was term'd *ἐνδίκη*, and might be done any Month in the Year, except *Scirophorion*,

(a) *Genes.* cap. XXV, §. 1. (b) *Arifophanis*, *Scholias* in locum citat. *Suidæ*, v. *ῥοδέειν*. (c) *Sopater*. (d) *Iliad.* 4. P. 545. Ed. *Rasf.*

the Magistrates being then busy in making up and returning their Accounts (a). The fore-mention'd Law concerning the Marriages of Heireffes gave occasion to one of *Apollodorus's* Comedies entitul'd *Επιδικάζουερος*, or *Επιδικάζουρην* as *Donatus* reads, understanding it of the Virgin's suing for an Husband: This was translated into *Latin* by *Terence*, and call'd *Phormio*, wherein we have these Verses mentioning the Law I have been speaking of,

*Lex est, ut orbæ, qui sint genere proximi,
Iis nubant, & illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

The Law commands that Orphans marry those,
That nearest are ally'd, and that the Men
Consent to joyn with these.

Farther, we find it order'd, that when Men had given a Daughter in Marriage, and after that dy'd without Sons to heir their Estates, their nearest Relation had Power to claim the Inheritance, and take the Woman from her Husband, which *Isæus* (b) reports to have been a common Practice.

Persons, who had no lawful Issue, were allow'd to adopt whom they pleas'd, whether their own natural Sons, or (by Consent of their Parents) the Sons of other Men: Whoever was thus adopted, was at *Athens* first made free of the City, and then had his Name enroll'd in the Tribe and Ward of his new Father; this was not done at the same Time their own Children were register'd, but on the Festival call'd *Θαργήλια* in the Month *Thargelion*. The *Lacedemonians* were very cautious and wary in this Affair, and, for the Prevention of rash and inconsiderate Adoptions, had a Law that they should all be confirm'd in the Presence of their Kings. Children thus adopted were call'd *παῖδες θετοί*, or *εἰσποιητοί*, and were invested in all the Privileges and Rights of, and oblig'd to perform all the Duties belonging to such as were begotten by their Fathers: If they desir'd to return into their own Family, the *Athenian* Laws allow'd them not to do it, except they had first begotten Children to bear the Name of the Person who had adopted them; if they refus'd to do this, their Adoption became void, and their Claim, to inherit the Estate consequent thereto, perish'd (c): If they dy'd without Children, the Inheritance could not be alienated from the Family, into which they were adopted, but return'd to the Relations of the Person that adopted them. When it happen'd that any Person, after Adoption made, begot legitimate Children, his Estate was equally shar'd between those begotten and adopted: It may be observ'd in this Place, that

(a) *Petitus in Leges Atticas, qui & alibi consulendus.* (b) *Orat. de Pyrrhi hæred.* (c) *Odysf. ξ. v. 290.*

it was an ancient Custom for legitimate Sons to divide their Father's Estate by Lots, all having equall Shares without Respect to Priority of Birth, but allowing a small Pittance to such as were unlawfully begotten : Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* tells *Eumæus*, that the Sons of *Castor* the *Cretean*, of whom he feigns himself one, divided what he left (a),

Εκ μὲν Κρητῶν γένος εὐχομαι εὐρεῖαν
 Ἀέρος ἀφνειοῖο παῖς· πολλοὶ δ' ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι
 Τίτες ἐν μεγάροις ἡμῖν τράφον ἡδ' ἐγένοντο
 Γνήσιοι ἐκ ἀλόχευ, ἐμὲ δ' ὠνήτη τέκε μήτηρ
 Παλλὰς, ἀλλὰ μεῖσον ἰθαγενέσιν ἐτίμα
 Κάστωρ Τλακίδης, τ' ἐγὼ γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι
 Ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Κρήτιοι θεὸς ὡς τίτε δῆμῳ
 Ὀλέω τε, πλέτω τε, καὶ ὑάσι κυδαλίμοισιν,
 Ἀλλ' ὅττι κῆρες ἔσαν θανάτοιο φέρονται
 Εἰς Αἴδαο δόμους, τοὶ δ' ὦλόν ἐδάπαντο
 Παῖδες ὑπέρθυμοι, καὶ ὅττι κλήρες ἐδάλοντο,
 Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα πᾶνρα δόσαν, καὶ οἰκ' ἐνεμειν.

Crete claims my Birth is readily confest,
 My wealthy Father vast Estates possess;
 Many his Sons, and they legitimate,
 But I his Bastard far'd ne'er worse for that;
Castor Hylacides was his worthy Name,
 And for his Children by his lawful Dame,
 And Wealth in Crete he had obtain'd great Fame:
 But, when impartial Fate dispatch'd his Doom,
 And sent him down to his eternal Home,
 The Lots were by my haughty Brothers thrown,
 All they divide, supposing all their own,
 And some small Legacy to me bequeath.

Mr. Hutchin.

Such as had neither legitimate nor adopted Children were succeeded by their nearest Relations, as appears from the fore-cited Dialogue between *Hercules* and *Pisithærus*: This Custom was as ancient as the *Trojan War*, being mention'd in *Homer*, when he relates how *Diomedes* slew the two only Sons of *Phenops* (b),

Ενθ' ὃ γε τὸς ἐνάειζε, φίλον δ' ἐξαίνυτο θυμὸν
 Ἀμφοτέρω, πατρίε' ὃ γόνον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ
 Λεῖπ', ἐπεὶ ἔζωντε μάχης ἐκνοσήσαντε
 Δέξατο, χερσὶν δ' οὐκ ἀκτῆσιν δατέοντο.

(a) *Odys.* β'. v. 200. (b) *Iliad.* ε'. v. 155.

Then both he flew, then both depriv'd of Life,
And thus increas'd their ancient Father's Grief,
Since he not safe receiv'd them from the War;
Thus childless his next Friends his Goods did share.

Mr. Hutchin.

Where indeed *Enstathius* with the old *Scholiast* will have *χρησται* signify certain Magistrates, who had Right to the Estates of such as dy'd *χρηδόντες τ' διαδόχων*, without lawful Heirs; but it may as well be interpreted of Relations; for that these, succeeding to the Estates of Persons without Children, were call'd *χρησται*, is plain from ancient *Grammarians* (a): *Hesiod* has us'd the same Word, but in which of these Sences is equally ambiguous (b),

Ὅς κε γάμον φέδων κὶ μέμερα ἔργα γυναικῶν
Μὴ γῆμαι ἐδέλῃ, ὁλοὸν δ' ὅτι γῆρας ἵκηται,
Χήτει γεροκόμοιο, ὃ δ' ἔ βίβτε ὀπιδενὺς
Ζῶει, σαρπηδινὺς ὅ δ' αὖ κτήσιν δατέονται
Χρησται. ———

Averse to all the Troubles of a Wife,
Wedlock he loath'd, and led a single Life,
But now, when bowing Age his Limbs had seiz'd,
Justly he wants, whom he before despis'd:
He dyes at length, and his remoter Friends
Share his Possessions. ———

Mr. Hutchin.

'Tis not worth disputing whether Signification is more pertinent in these Passages, since 'tis certain that both are agreeable enough to the Practice of Antiquity: For as Persons having Relations were usually succeeded in their Estates by them; so when any dy'd without lawful Heirs, their Possessions belong'd to the Prince, the Common-wealth, or supreme Magistrates, as the Laws of every State directed.

The *Grecian* Practice concerning Wills was not the same in all Places; some States permitted Men to dispose of their Estates, others wholly depriv'd them of that Privilege. We are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Soloni* is much commended for his Law concerning Wills, for before no Man was allow'd to make any, but all the Wealth of deceas'd Persons belong'd to their Families: But he permitted them to bestow it on whom they pleas'd,

(a) *Hesychius* v. *χρησται*, *Pollux*. (b) *Theogonia*. (c) *Solone*.

esteeming Friendship a stronger Tye than Kindred, and Affection than Necessity; and thus made every Man's Estate in the Disposal of the Possessor: Yet he allow'd not all sorts of Wills, but requir'd the following Conditions in all Persons that made them:

1. That they must be Citizens of *Athens*, not Slaves, or Foreigners; for then their Estates were confiscated to the publick Use.

2. That they must not be adopted; for, when adopted Persons dy'd without Issue, the Estates, they receiv'd by Adoption, return'd to the Relations of the Man, who adopted them.

3. That they should have no male Children of their own, for then their Estates belong'd to these: If they had only Daughters, the Persons, to whom the Inheritance was bequeath'd, were oblig'd to marry them (a).

4. That they should be in their right Minds, because Testaments extorted thro' the Phrenzy of a Disease, or Dotage of old Age were not in Reality the Wills of the Person that made them.

5. That they should not be under Imprisonment, or other Constraint; their Consent being then only forc'd, nor in Justice to be reputed voluntary.

6. That they should not be induc'd to it by the Charms and Insinuations of a Wife; for (says *Plutarch*) the wise Law-giver with good Reason thought that no Difference was to be put between Deceit and Necessity, Flattery and Compulsion, since both are equally powerful to persuade a Man from Reason.

Wills were usually sign'd before several Witnesses, who put their Seals to them for Confirmation; then plac'd in the Hands of Trustees call'd *ἐπιμεληταί*, who were oblig'd to see them perform'd. There are several Copies of Wills in *Diogenes Laërtius*, as those of *Aristotle*, *Lycon*, and *Theophrastus*; whence it appears, they had a common Form, beginning with a Wish for Life and Health; afterwards adding, that, in case it happen'd otherwise, their Will was, as follow'd, in this Manner: *Ἐσται μὲν οὖν, ἐάν τις π. σὺν ἡμῶν, πάντα ἀγνίσκειν.*

We have seen how Children enjoy'd the Estates of their Parents, let us now pass to their virtuous and noble Actions, the Rewards of which we find frequently inherited by their Posterity: These consisted not only in fruitless Commendations and empty Titles of Honour, or Expressions of Respect, which yet were liberally bestow'd upon the whole Families of Persons eminent for serving their Country; but in more substantial Acknowledgements thought due to the Memory and Relations of such Men. Their Children were in many Places provided for, and educated suitably to their Birth at the publick Expence, when left destitute of

(a) *Isaïas* Orat. de *Pyrrhi* hæred.

Estates: What Regard the *Athenians* had of those Men's Children, who lost their Lives in fighting for their Country, has been shew'd in a former Book; how they treated the Posterity of others, who had deserv'd well of their Common-wealth, shall now appear from one or two Instances: The first is that of *Aristides*, who dying poor, the *Athenian* People bestow'd upon his Son *Lyfimachus* an hundred *Anic* Pounds of Silver, with a Plantation of as many Acres of Ground; and, upon the Motion of *Alcibiades*, order'd farther that four *Drachms* a Day should be paid him; furthermore, *Lyfimachus* leaving a Daughter nam'd *Policrite*, the People voted her the same Provision of Corn with those who obtain Victory in the *Olympian* Games: The same *Aristides*'s two Daughters had each of them three hundred *Drachms* out of the publick Treasury for their Portions: Nor is it to be wonder'd (proceeds my Author) that the People of *Athens* should take care of those, who resided in their City; since hearing the Grand-daughter of *Aristogiton* was in so low a Condition in the Isle of *Lennos*, that she was like to want a Husband, they sent for her to *Athens*, marry'd her to a Person of great Quality, and gave with her a Farm for her Dowry; of which Bounty and Humanity the City of *Athens* (saith he) in this our Age has given divers Demonstrations, for which she is deservedly celebrated and had in Admiration (a).

Men's Vices and dishonorable Actions were likewise participated by their Children; for it was thought no more than reasonable, that those, who share in the Prosperity and good Fortune of their Parents, should partake likewise of their Losses and Misfortunes. *Agamemnon* in *Homer* could be prevail'd on by no Arguments to spare *Animachus*'s Sons, their Father having endeavour'd to procure *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* to be murder'd, when they were sent on an Embassy to *Troy* (b).

Εἰ μὲ δὴ Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος υἱὸς εἶσιν,
ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Τρώων ἀγορῇ Μενέλαον ἄνωγεν
Ἀγγέλλω ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιφίῳ Ὀδυσῆϊ
Ἀὔθι κατακτείναι, μὴδ' ἐξέμεν ἄλ' ἐς Ἀχαιῆς,
Νῦν μὲ δὴ τ' πατρὸς ἀεικέα πίστετε λώεσθαι.

If from the Loyns of stout *Antimachus*
Ye are descended, I'll bespeak you thus;
Since, when the *Trojans* did in Council sit,
He gravely gave advice, He thought it fit
That my dear Brother, as an Enemy,
With sage *Ulysses* sacrific'd should be
To their invetrate Malice, tho' they were
Envoyes, whose Lives the worst of Nations spare;

(a) *Plutarchus Aristide*, (b) *Iliad*, x. v. 138.

I'll on the Sons avenge the Father's Hate,
These Hands shall you dispatch, and Justice vindicate.

Mr. Abell.

There are many other Instances to the same purpose, whence it appears this Practice was not owing to the Passion and Prejudices of particular Persons, but thought agreeable to Justice and Reason; it may be sufficient in this Place to mention the famous *Macedonian Law*, whereby it was order'd, that Men guilty of conspiring against their King should not only suffer Death with their Children, but all those; who were near ally'd to them, should share in the same Punishment; whence we find in *Curius (a)*, that, when *Philotas* was found guilty of Treason against *Alexander*, of the Noblemen and others related to him some stabb'd themselves, others fled into Wilderesses and Desarts, 'till the King issu'd out his Pardon for them.

It remains that I add something concerning the Returns of Gratitude due from Children to their Parents, which appear from their assiduous Attendance on them in the lowest Offices; whence one in *Aristophanes* relates how his Daughter wash'd and anointed his Feet,

————— Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
Απονίζῃ, καὶ τὰ πόδια ἀλείφει, καὶ παρακύβητα φιλάει.
First my dear Child did wash her Father's Feet,
Then she anointed 'em, and bending down
Gave them a sweet endearing Kiss. —————

They were zealous in vindicating the Honor, and revenging the Injuries of their Parents; whence *Telemachus* in *Homer* says, *Orestes* had gain'd the Applause of all *Greece*, and recommended his Name to succeeding Ages by taking revenge of his Father's Murderers (b),

Καὶ τίλω κείνος μὲν ἔπιστατο, καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ
Οἴσουσι κλέος εὐρύ, καὶ ἑοσιμύβοισιν αἰοιδῶν.
He a brave noble Soul did then put forth,
A Soul of Prowels and heroick Worth,
When He his Father's bold Assassins kill'd,
And both his Duty and the Law fulfill'd;
This *Aet* for ever shall in Records live,
And to his sacred Name Eternity shall give.

Mr. Abell.

Several other Instances might be produc'd, wherein Children shew'd their Gratitude to their Parents, whereof I shall only mention their

(a) Lib. VI. haud procul a fine. (b) *Odys.* γ'. v. 308.

Care in providing a comfortable Subsistence for their old Age term'd *γηροσκήν*, and performing their Funeral Rites when dead; this Happiness *Medea* in *Euripides* expresses her earnest Desire of (a),

Ἡ μὲν ποτ' ἢ δυσήνος εἶχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν, γηροσκήσειν τ' ἐμὲ,
καὶ κατθανῆσθαι χερσὶν εὖ περὶελθῆναι.

Al! wretched me, ah, my unhappy Fate!
What blooming Comforts did I once preface
In your young tender Years, I thought, alas!
What blest'd Support I should receive when old,
From you the Prop of my declining Age,
How you would give me decent Obsequies,
When I should leave the World, and be no more.

Mr. Abell.

Admetus introduc'd by the same Poet tells his Father that, he being deliver'd over to Death by him, there would be no Man to take care of him whilst alive, or pay him due Respect after Death (b),

Τοὶ γὰρ φυτεύων παῖδας ἐκ' ἐτ' αὖ φθάνοις,
Οἱ γηροσκήνῃσι, καὶ θανόντα σὲ
Περίελθῃσι, καὶ ποροῖσινται νεκρὸν,
Οὐ γάρ σ' ἔγωγε τῆδ' ἐμῇ δάψω χεῖρ,
Τέθνητα γὰρ δὴ τῶπι σ'.

You with more Offspring never will be blest
To give Refreshment to your aged Limbs,
To keep you when disabled, and when dead
To mourn your Loss, and give you decent Burial;
For I, alas! am doom'd to loose my Life
As much as in you lies; I ne'er will see
Your Body carry'd to the Grave, or be
A sad Attendant at the Funeral.

Mr. Abell.

So concern'd were they about these Things, that when they undertook any hazardous Enterprize, it was customary to engage some of their Friends to maintain and protect their aged Parents: Thus when the *Thebans* living in Exile at *Athens* conspir'd to free their native Country from the Tyrants, which the *Lacedemonians* had impos'd on it, they divided themselves into two Companies, and agree'd that one should endeavour to get into the City, and surprise their Enemies, whilst the other, remaining behind in *Attica*, should expect the Issue, and provide for the Parents, and Child-

(a) *Medea* v. 1032. (b) *Alceſtides* v. 662.

ren of their Associates, if they perish'd in the Attempt (a): *Euryalus* in *Virgil*, when going to expose his Life to Danger, passionately intreats *Ascanius* in an elegant Oration to comfort and make Provision for his Mother (b),

————— *Sed te super omnia dona*
Unum oro: Genitrix Priami de gente venusta
Est mihi, quam miseram tenuis non Ilia tellus
Mecum excedentem, non mœnia regis Acestæ;
Hanc ego nunc vix naram hujus quodcumque pericli est,
Inque salutem linquo; nox & tua testis
Dextera, quod nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis;
At tu, oro, solare inopem, & succurre relictæ;
Hanc sine me spem ferre tui; audentior ibo
In casus omnes.—————

This chiefly from your Goodness let me gain
 (For this ungranted all Rewards are vain)
 Of *Priam's* royal Race my Mother came,
 And sure the best that ever bore the Name;
 Whom neither *Troy*, nor *Sicily* cou'd hold
 From me departing, but o'erstep and old
 My Fate she follow'd; ignorant of this
 Whatever Danger, neither parting Kiss,
 Nor pious Blessing taken, *Her* I leave,
 And in this only Act of all my Life deceive;
 By this Right-hand and conscious Night I swear,
 My Soul so sad a Farewel could not bear:
 Be you *her* Comfort, fill my vacant Place,
 (Permit me to presume so great a Grace)
 Support *her* Age forsaken and distressed,
 That Hope alone will fortify my Breast
 Against the worst of Fortunes and of Fears.

Mr. Dryden.

The Provision made by Children for their Parents was term'd *τροφία*, by the Poets *τροφίη*, or *τρέφει*, and sometimes *τρέφει*, as we find in *Homer* (c). To be negligent in this Matter was accounted one of the greatest Impieties, and most worthy of Divine Vengeance; whence *Hesiod*, enumerating the Evils of the last and iron Age, mentions the Disobedience and disrespectful Behavior of Children to their Parents, as one of the greatest, and which call'd to Heaven for Vengeance (d),

————— *Γράσποντας ἀπείθεσι τοὺς πατέρας,*
Μέμψονται δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν χαλεποῖς βάζοντ' ἐπείων

(a) *Plutarchus Pelopida.* (b) *Aeneid*, IX. v. 283. (c) *Iliad*. N. v. 478.
 (d) *Oper. & Dier. lib. I. v. 183.*

Eu-
pal-
and

Σχέτλιοι, ἔδῃ θεῶν ὅπιν εἰδότες, ἔδῃ μὲ οἶζε
Γηράττωσι τοκέυσιν ἀπὸ θρηνηναι δόειν.

When drooping Parents in a painful State
Have toil'd, oppress'd with Miseries and Fate,
Then their young Debauchees shall them despise,
Taunt at their Years, and give them base Replies,
Call them the Dregs of Life, and not allow,
Not one poor Cross to keep them will bestow.

Mr. Abel.

No Crime was thought to be follow'd with more certain and inevitable Judgments than this; for the Furies and other infernal Deities were believ'd always ready to execute the Curses of Parents injur'd by their Children; *Telemachus* in *Homer* refuses to force his Mother *Penelope* from his House for Fear of being haunted by the Furies, and reproach'd by Men (a),

——— Ἀλλὰ ὃ δαίμων
Δώσει, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ συζυγὰς ἀρήσεται Φεινῦς
Οἶκα ἀπερχομένη, νέμεσις δέ μοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
Ἔσεται.

The Gods this Act with Vengeance will repay,
Furies will haunt this House, and I no Day
Shall live at ease, but scouted and forlorn
To all my Neighbours a By-word and Scorn.

Phenix was remarkably punish'd, when his Father invok'd the Furies Assistance against him (b),

——— Πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς αὐτὴν οἶδεις,
Πολλὰ κατηράτο, συζυγὰς δ' ἐπικέκλητ' Φεινῦς,
Μήποτε γένασιν οἷσιν ἐφέστωδ' φίλον υἱόν
Ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα. θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαρὰς,
Ζῆς τε κατὰ χθονίος, καὶ ἐπαινὴ Πελοποννησια.

My Father, having me discover'd, pray'd
To all th' infernal Furies for their Aid,
He wish'd I never might beget a Boy
To dandle on my Knee, and give me Joy;
My Father's Pray'rs are heard, mine are deny'd,
Both *Pluto* and his Queen are in the Curse ally'd.

Mr. Abel.

Many other Instances occur in Authors, as those of *Oedipus*, *Theſeus*, and others produc'd by *Plato* (c), where he endeavors to make

(a) *Odysſ.* c. v. 134. (b) *Iliad.* i. v. 454. (c) *De legibus* lib. XI.

out, that the Gods were always prepar'd to hear the Prayers, and revenge the Injuries of Parents. Nor was the Punishment of this Crime only left to be executed by the Gods, but frequently inflicted by human Appointment; *Solon's* Laws were very severe against it, for they order'd all Persons, who refus'd to make due Provision for their Parents, to be disfranchis'd; and when Persons admitted to appear for the Office of *Archon* were examin'd concerning their Life and Behavior, one of the first Questions enquir'd was, Whether they had honour'd their Parents, wherein if they were found faulty, their Suit was rejected.

Yet there were some Cases, wherein that Law-giver excus'd Children from maintaining their Parents, as when they had been bred up to no Calling, or Profession, whereby they might be enabled to subsist in the World; for the Care and Trouble of Parents in educating their Children being the main Foundation of those Duties they were to expect from them, their Default herein was thought to absolve the Children from their Allegiance: In like manner such as were prostituted by their Parents, were not compell'd to maintain them (a): The Sons of Harlots were also declar'd to lie under no Obligation of relieving their Fathers, because they, who keep company with Harlots, are not suppos'd to design the Procreation of Children, but their own Pleasure; and therefore have no Pretence to upbraid them with Ingratitude, whose very Birth they made a Scandal and Reproach to them (b).

As the Unkindness of Parents was made a sufficient Excuse for Children to deny them Relief in their old Age, so the Disobedience, or Extravagance of Children frequently depriv'd them of the Care and Estate of their Parents: Yet the *Athenian* Law-giver allow'd not Fathers to disinherit their Children out of Passion, or slight Prejudices, but requir'd their Appearance before certain Judges appointed to have Cognizance of such Matters, where if the Children were found to deserve so severe a Sentence, the publick Cryer was order'd to proclaim, That such a Person rejected the Criminal, whose Name was then repeated, from being his Son; whence to disinherit a Son is call'd ἀποκληρέειν ἢ ὑὸν, and the Person so disinherited ἀποκλήρυκτος; to be disinherited was likewise call'd ἐκπίπτεν ἢ γένους, to be receiv'd again ἀναλαμβάνειν εἰς τὸ γένος. It may be here observ'd, that Parents were allow'd to be reconcil'd to their Children, but after that could never abdicate them again.

(a) *Aeschines* Orat. in *Timarch.* (b) *Plutarchus* *Solone.*

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43. l. 12. read Pofidomius. p. 61. l. 5. r. γεατία. p. 251. l. 27. r. καὶ πῖπ.

The last board for line 8 for lazimus read lazimejs
 144. instead of Wally Jones
 Every a Scientific Gentleman
 I don't like the collection
 he has made of the

F I N I S

Caelum, non animam, mutant, qui trans mare currunt.
Caelum.

They change the sky - but not the seas!
Who run toward the Sea!

Caelum

Isn't You ashamed of it?
how will you come on in
your Profession? You'll
be despised wherever
You go!! you won't sap
& if you don't you must
be a Traitor!!! There's

the fruit of Covins!!!
You are poor, dependent
& must cringe to your
friends & your Bride even

A. Oh that I had a
fortune!!! Oh that I had
money to try the lottery!!!

B. - your fate is awful,
& your days appear to be
numbered, who would sus-
pect to see the Manly &